

# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

October  
1946

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

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Number 5

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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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## TOWARDS AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY\*

MARY VAN KLEECK  
*Russell Sage Foundation*

**T**HE paramount need in world civilization today is for a sociology of production. Man's relation to man in the utilization of natural resources and the technology which has enhanced their potentiality many fold is obviously functioning badly. Atomic energy and its use for frightful destruction in a world-wide war, instead of its development as a productive force in peace, is merely the most dramatic of the technological developments of the past hundred years which call for a deeper understanding of man and society, if mankind is to control and benefit by the cosmic forces which science has released. It appears to be the moment in history when social scientists are challenged to move with all possible speed toward a comprehensive and enlightening industrial sociology.

### WHAT IS INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY?

An industrial sociology signifies the body of knowledge which would record and organize experience in human association in the industrial community. The industrial community refers not to a geographical locality which has been industrialized, but to the more fundamental sociological con-

cept of community as "any area of common interest."<sup>1</sup> Hence the industrial community is defined as the whole area of society's common interest in production, including agriculture and mining, as well as manufacturing and mechanical industries, the productive forces used in all these processes, and the services, such as transportation and communication, which result in making products available for ultimate consumption.

Basic in productive forces as they affect social conditions is the nature of technology. Technology is to be defined as the body of knowledge established by science and available for use in the processes of production. Industry may be described as the organization of production. The processes of industry are changed and shaped by the growing body of knowledge known as technology. Thus it is in the field of industry that science exerts its far-reaching influence on society. The social consequences of the fundamental, dynamic changes which have occurred in the industrial arts, or, more properly, in the sciences which shape these arts, are so far-reaching and so profound as to compel

\* Address given before American Sociological Society at the 40th Annual Meeting, March 1-3, 1946, Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MacIver, Robert M., *Community, a Sociological Study; being an attempt to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life*. Macmillan, London, 1927; third edition, 1924.

attention in all the social sciences. Moreover, because of the nature of the new technology, with its integrating influence on all branches of production, which are necessarily interdependent, human relationships in industry have likewise become so interdependent as to justify the concept of the industrial community.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDUSTRY FOR SOCIOLOGY

The logic of including industry explicitly within the field of sociology, even to the extent of using the term, "an industrial sociology," is twofold: (1) The constant impact of productive forces upon social conditions makes it impossible to ignore industrial factors as they influence and even condition other aspects of social relationships; (2) The development of a science of sociology, looking toward a valid theory of society, can be realistic only if due weight be given to the industrial community as the foundation of modern society. Within this foundation are included the human relations implicit in the concept of community, as well as all the sciences which shape the productive processes of industry.

Thus an industrial sociology is the logical outgrowth of the work of those sociologists who have found the appropriate area for sociology to be the community, in its broad sense of common interest. Inclusion of the industrial community as a proper subject for sociological research is therefore not inconsistent with the efforts of sociologists to describe with some precision the proper field for their subject, rather than to permit its many-sided interests to make it all-inclusive, and therefore no true science. In the process of delimiting boundaries, however, sociology cannot exclude relationships with many other branches of science, if industry is to be within the sociological area.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Hitherto the tendency has been to leave industry and industrial relations to economics. Economics thus becomes, perhaps, the first of the social sciences with which in-

dustrial sociology must work out its relationships. But this involves also a reorientation of economics as affected by the nature of the new technology. Economics itself must become not merely a science of wealth in the monetary sense, preoccupied with monetary concepts of wage, price, cost, and profit, but must rather be defined as the science of social administration of production. As this science of social administration of production develops, its findings, when integrated with sociological data on human association, should result in growing knowledge of the industrial community as a fundamental aspect of society.

Indeed, the claim may be justified that almost no sociological problem, whether explicitly industrial or not, can be fully and truly formulated or investigated without viewing it in relation to its industrial environment or the economic structure which comprises it. Basic in the industrial environment is the technology upon which the prevailing processes of production are based.<sup>2</sup> Thus concern for industrial sociology itself must be related, on the one hand, to all the human sciences which can be utilized in the study of human beings and their relationships as they function in industry; and, on the other hand, to technology and all its contributing sciences which mold the processes of work in production and thereby influence and, in fact, condition human relationships within all sections of the industrial community.

#### INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE SCIENCES

In the search for an industrial sociology, after delimiting the proper field of sociology, the opposite need arises to expand its boundaries through contacts with all sciences which contribute to the body of knowledge concerning individuals composing the industrial community, and concerning the forces which shape its productive processes. Taking as central the two social problems which the development of technology today presents, namely, (1) social adjustment to technological change, and (2) full utilization of productive resources for living stand-

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ards, it becomes clear that science as a whole is here unified by the interrelations of its subject matter. In a recent study,<sup>2</sup> the implications of these relationships for sociology were thus defined:

"Neither technology, understood as the science of productivity, nor sociology, conceived as the science of human association, can be completely scientific unless both are viewed as aspects of the reality which constitutes man's experience in the productive process" (p. 191).

It follows also that the totality of man's life in the community which is society must be recognized as the framework within which specific problems for research are to be formulated. Changes occurring anywhere in the area of technology immediately make their impact upon many other aspects of society, and this calls for reorientation of subjects for investigation. As technological change is constant, "technology is dynamic," and "social science cannot be static" (p. 192).

#### FORERUNNERS OF AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

For recognition of the social importance of technology, tribute is due first to a distinguished sociologist, William F. Ogburn, who in the comparatively recent past explored the subject in two important research projects under governmental auspices, to which he gave direction. The findings of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends contain this description of the dynamic impact of technological change:

"The magnificent material portion of our culture has been developed by scientific discoveries and inventions applied to a rich natural heritage. This is well understood, but what is less understood is the dynamic nature of this material culture, and the fact that the problems of society arising out of the changing technology are produced in large measure by this dynamic element."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Fledderus, Mary L., and van Kleeck, Mary, *Technology and Livelihood: An Inquiry into the Changing Technological Basis for Production as Affecting Employment and Living Standards*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1944.

<sup>3</sup> President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*.

The National Resources Committee further amplified the study of inventions, which constituted part of the work of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. In this study,<sup>4</sup> a group of scientists described inventions as they affect various branches of production. The far-reaching social consequences of these inventions were indicated, and a plea was made for foresight to prevent social maladjustments

A further step seemed to us necessary in our studies of industrial relations in the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation. The National Resources Committee had described specific inventions separately in the various industries. We felt the need of drawing together these descriptions in a picture of the new technology as a whole, in order that the current problems of employment opportunities and living standards might be reformulated in relation to the changing technological basis of production and its logical trends.<sup>5</sup> Only by seeing the total picture, could the problems of social adjustment to technological change be properly defined. It is perhaps significant of the need for an industrial sociology that these explorations in the field of technology were found to be necessary as background for our study of industrial relations, and specifically of the history of trade unions in their relation to management and to government in the United States in the period from 1929 to 1945. As these interrelationships were in process of recording and analysis in this study in the 1930's, it became evident that the union, as a social institution providing the structure for labor relations, must be related to the industrial environment and the changes wrought in it by the new discoveries of science.

While these explorations of technology are

McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York and London, 1933, vol. I, p. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1937. Professor Ogburn directed this study. One of his collaborators was Professor Bernhard Stern, sociologist.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Technology and Livelihood*, op. cit.

new for sociology, industry and its human relations have long been a subject of interest for many sociologists, though the kind of comprehensive work in the field which would result from explicit recognition of the need for an industrial sociology has not yet been undertaken.

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Most important and most obvious of the forerunners of such comprehensive work is rural sociology. Here agriculture has been explored with fruitful results for understanding the rural community. Is it not true, however, that rural sociology is incomplete unless it be linked with other areas of production in the total concept of the industrial community? As rural sociologists carry on their work today at home and abroad, are there not many evidences that the problems of agriculture are industrial rather than agricultural, and that rural life can be understood and its direction guided toward more satisfactory human association only if productive forces as a whole are guided and controlled in their social consequences?

Many nations which continue to be predominantly agricultural are illustrative of this need. A rural sociologist at one of the meetings of this Society has declared that the basic problem of China is rural and agricultural. But may it not also be said that the basic problem of the rural and agricultural population of China is to lift the level of agricultural productivity through a guided program of industrialization which will bring to China as a nation the control of all its resources for the living standards of its people? Is not this a problem in industrial sociology on a national scale?

Yugoslavia is another illustration. More than 75 per cent of its people are engaged in agriculture, which yields them a bare subsistence. Yet the nation is rich beyond the average in mineral resources. These are not developed by Yugoslavia, but have been taken out as raw materials by foreign corporations having concessions most advantageous for their stockholders but leaving

the people of Yugoslavia without the metals, machinery, and power resources needed to make agriculture productive.

The position of countries predominantly agricultural in relation to industrial nations in the period following the First World War was described in a study published by the International Labor Office in 1936, under the title, *The Social Consequences of the Economic Depression*. Here it was shown that

"three industrial powers of Europe [Great Britain, Germany, France] were able, as a result of the discrepancy between industrial and agricultural prices, to transfer to the agricultural branch of the world economic system losses amounting in all to about 7,500 or 8,000 million '1929 dollars' from 1930 to 1933, and probably 10,000 millions for the five years from 1930 to 1934."<sup>6</sup>

More fundamental than these financial relationships is the interdependence of agriculture with all other branches of production, through development of the productive forces of the new technology. As rural sociology develops, the need is demonstrated for more comprehensive studies leading to a sociology of all production.

#### THE SOCIAL SURVEY

Other forerunners of an industrial sociology have arisen in the field of social work, or social welfare. Perhaps most important for our discussion, both as a forerunner and for its contribution to method, is the social survey, of which the Pittsburgh Survey was the first notable example explicitly using that term. The term "survey" signifies the integrated analysis of aspects of the community recognized as related to the social task of improving social and living conditions. Instead of investigating various separate aspects and reporting on them, the survey lays out a co-ordinated plan of investigation and draws its conclusions for a community program only after the findings

<sup>6</sup> Woytinsky, Wladimir, *Social Consequences of the Economic Depression*. International Labour Office, Geneva, 1936, p. 302.

are all collated from these different branches. The community survey has usually recognized the industrial community as an essential area of community life.

Such forerunners, however, constitute merely raw materials for the theoretical work which should result in fruitful generalizations regarding the nature of the industrial community,<sup>7</sup> and the way in which the forces of change within production shape and affect social processes, institutions, and relationships.

#### METHODS OF RESEARCH

Toward such generalization, a methodology of research is needed. What is desirable is a method which will permit social design for the future, rather than mere accumulation of facts regarding past or present. This need is not confined to an industrial sociology, though it is likely that social design for any aspect of community life cannot be valid or realistic unless the research from which it is constructed takes account of the industrial community.

The social survey and related studies directed toward improvement of social and living conditions in a locality have contributed toward the development of the method of research which makes possible social design. At this point the question will be raised as to whether or not the drawing of conclusions and the making of recommendations vitiates the scientific character of a project in social research. The investi-

gator may be accused of selecting data to support a preconceived conclusion or recommendation. If, however, we, as sociologists, aspire to the precision of other sciences, we must recognize that methods become more precise in proportion as the problem defined for investigation is actually susceptible of experiment. In the field of applied science it must be pointed out that so-called pure science has actually often progressed through the experimental work involved in the applications of scientific discovery in industry.

Indeed, it may be said of every nation of the world today that it is a vast social economic laboratory. The principles produced for society's guidance by the social sciences are now being tested in the world's communities, which become social science laboratories, and the social sciences are called upon to observe and correct their findings as they are revealed in the social conditions and the social problems of our time. The possibility of comparison between nations makes the laboratory which is the world community a truly challenging area for research directed toward universality in social concepts.

The problem of methodology for an industrial sociology would seem to be not fundamentally different from that of study in any other phase of the social sciences. We must be aware, however, of the highly controversial nature of the problems to be studied in the industrial community, and the consequent disturbing effect upon the tranquillity and objectivity which are supposed to characterize scientists. The most immediate implication of this difficulty is to give added emphasis to the need for developing such methods of research as shall insure accuracy and objectivity. Strong support also comes from the working together of many scientists. The methods to be used in investigating controversial subjects must be selected with full realization of the strain which will be put upon them when their findings and conclusions are announced.

<sup>7</sup> The first use of the term "industrial community" in this deeper sociological sense, so far as the writer of this paper knows, was in the International Industrial Relations Institute, at its first triennial congress, in Cambridge, England, in 1928. See *Report on Fundamental Relationships Between All Sections of the Industrial Community*, published by International Industrial Relations Institute, The Hague and New York, 1928. This report, containing the proceedings of the Cambridge congress, constituted a notable exploration of the industrial community and the functioning of human relations within industry in various countries of the world.

## METHODS FOR THE STUDY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY\*

BURLEIGH B. GARDNER AND WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE

THE Committee on Human Relations in Industry<sup>1</sup> at the University of Chicago was organized early in 1943 to carry on research in the social organization of industry and of our industrial society. On the basis of our own and earlier studies we have formulated certain ideas as to the research approach to this field, which will be discussed here.

We do not offer any fundamental innovations in methodology. Rather we are concerned with the application and adaptation of certain well recognized methods to this relatively new field.

Experience has shown that effective research on human relations in industry requires the fulfillment of certain conditions:

1. The researcher must be able to get into industry.
2. He must be able to establish and maintain relationships within the organization to be studied.
3. He must have tools for collecting the pertinent data without interfering with his relationships.
4. For anything more than superficial studies, there must be a continuity of research relationships with a given organization.
5. To permit such relationships to con-

tinue and to allow for the possibility of experimentation, management must understand the research and take an interest in its development. (Where unions are involved in the studies, this same condition applies to them.)

It must be remembered that factories are social organizations with walls around them. Management controls the admission of people within these walls, and there is no access without such permission. Furthermore, management tends to be touchy about exposing its personnel problems to outside scrutiny and fearful of the effects of permitting outsiders to enter the organization. There is a widespread belief that allowing a researcher to interview a worker upon his problems will create in the worker's mind problems that he was not previously aware of and will therefore build up antagonism toward management. So we find that where management considers its human relations to be in good shape, it is inclined to "let well enough alone," and where it recognizes serious frictions it is inclined to bar access to the researcher on the grounds that he may touch off an explosion.

A position in a prestige institution such as a university may be of some help in overcoming these barriers, but identification with the social sciences is of dubious value. While executives may recognize that a *real* social science would be of value to them, they are inclined to look upon us as impractical dreamers who talk a language they do not understand and who are out of touch with the realities they face.

Nevertheless, it has been possible to gain access to industry—and in several ways. Here we talk primarily of our own experience, recognizing, of course, that we are not the only people who have carried on in-plant studies.

By one approach, the researcher obtains

\* Address given before American Sociological Society at the 40th Annual Meeting, March 1-3, 1946, Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup>The members of the Committee on Human Relations in Industry are: George Brown, School of Business, Allison Davis, Department of Education, Burleigh Gardner, School of Business, Frederick Harbison, Department of Economics and Industrial Relations Center, Robert Havighurst, Department of Education, Everett Hughes, Department of Sociology, Neil Jacoby, Vice-President of the University, W. Lloyd Warner, Departments of Anthropology and Sociology, and William Whyte, Department of Sociology. Warner is committee chairman.

employment and enters the organization through the regular channels. When this is done without knowledge of the organization, he can function only as a participant-observer and is strictly limited by the job he is on. Thus he may have little freedom of movement and may have contact with only a small segment of the organization.

In spite of the limitations this imposes on the observer, it does provide opportunity to study the situation without the behavior being affected by the study itself. Some of the best descriptions of the daily experiences of the worker and of the dynamics of the informal relations in work groups have been obtained in this way.

Another limitation of this method is that after putting in a full day at work the observer has little time or energy left to record his observations and experiences or to think about them. If he is to get the most out of this experience, he must keep his work diary faithfully and make a very detailed report on his observations. In some cases a part time job has enabled the observer to do a better job of recording and organizing his material.

Sometimes it has been possible to place the observer on a selected job with the knowledge and permission of management and the union. This permits somewhat more freedom since the observer may be able to select the best job for his purposes or can be transferred from job to job to get more extensive material. This has to be handled carefully lest the fellow workers become antagonistic, and the observer must conduct himself so that they do not feel he is spying, yet will not be disturbed when they realize he is doing more than just the job. In some cases this has been handled by the observer letting it be known that he was a student interested in learning at first hand about work situations.

Aside from its merits for research, we regard this approach as excellent training for the student. Doing a job in industry and recording his observations gives the student a "feel" for the phenomena of human relations in this field. While intuition is no substitute for scientific research, it can

serve to point out profitable areas of investigation.

When the observer attempts to enter the factory for the acknowledged purpose of research, the way must be carefully paved for him. The purpose of the research must make sense to management. The executive must see possible benefits to the organization, must have confidence that the study will not disturb the plant, and must be assured that the data will be confidential and not put to use in any way which will harm the organization.

How can these assurances be given? We have found that we cannot count upon logical explanations of the purpose of the research plus the appropriate promises as to the methods to be used and to the confidential nature of the findings. Fundamentally, management must have confidence in us and in our research assistants. This cannot be put across in a sales talk. It must generally grow out of a more informal sort of relationship maintained over a period of time.

Our experience here is instructive. We received our first financial support from management on the basis of projected studies of the worker in the community. Nothing was said of in-plant studies.

As the community research got under way, Gardner visited the plants and offices of the sponsoring companies periodically and interviewed executives upon the problems they faced. We held dinner meetings for these executives about once every six weeks. While these were organized around presentation of a paper of research findings, we undertook to make them as informal as possible. Aside from promoting a closer relationship between executives and research directors, the meetings gave us the opportunity to learn how to translate our ideas into symbols that would make sense to executives.

Several months of this process led to our first in-plant study. One of the sponsor companies had some serious personnel problems in one of its departments. In fact, the situation was so bad that it did not seem possible for us to make it any worse. Therefore we were invited in and Gardner directed

a study of the department. Fortunately, we were able to point the way to a considerable improvement in that situation, and the practical application of the research was received with satisfaction by both management and the union.

This demonstration that we had some knowledge of practical value opened up much broader possibilities for our studies. We developed our in-plant studies to a point where we are more limited by shortage of trained research assistants and directors than by inability to gain access to plants. In fact, we are approaching a position where we can pick and choose the types of studies we want to make and then carry through the necessary arrangements.

While no in-plant study can be undertaken without the approval of top-management, such sanction is not enough in itself to assure its general acceptance. The research must be explained to all levels of the organization which are involved in it. It must be explained by top management, and it must also be explained and reexplained by the researchers as they go along making their contacts. A full and elaborate explanation is not necessary, but people must have some simple and clear definition of the researcher's role. Otherwise they will develop anxieties and work up their own definitions.

If the research is to include observations or interviews at the worker level, it will also be explained to the workers. Where the plant is organized, the research must also be discussed with the union leaders and then presented to the rank and file, preferably at a general meeting.

We have undertaken a number of studies involving union acceptance of our work, and we are expanding our research in the area of union-management cooperation. This may seem a paradoxical situation since all of our non-university financial support has come from management. Nevertheless, we have experienced no difficulties on this score.

There seem to be several factors which allow us to proceed in this manner. Our university positions give us at least some claim to impartiality. We do not work with

companies which are engaged in union busting campaigns. This does not mean that union-management relations are always harmonious where we operate. It does mean that management is committed to trying to get along with organized labor. Our position on this point is simple. Getting along with a union requires more than simple good will. Skill in human relations and an understanding of the social system of factory and union are also necessary. As we study union-management friction, we are in a position to provide the information which will make more cooperative relationships possible.

Apparently this approach makes sense to union leaders. We assure them that all individual confidences will be respected and that we will not become substitutes for the union in adjusting individual grievances with management. They recognize, however, that we can be a channel to transmit to management an analysis of problems at the work level which the union may be unable to get across. The union leadership may be looked upon by management as having an axe to grind. As long as we can maintain our position of having an unbiased interest in discovering how to make a cooperative system work, we can count on the support of both sides, even when there is considerable friction between them.

When the initial relationships with management and the union have been established, the researcher is free to enter the factory, but unless he can maintain good relationships at all the levels to be studied, he has difficulty in collecting data and runs the risk of creating so much disturbance that he may be forced to withdraw from the situation.

Certain guides should help in creating and maintaining proper relationships. The job cannot be done in a hurry, nor, once done, will it stay done. This must be a continuing process. The researcher must feel his way into the situation. He must try to size up the factory pattern of relationships and fit in unobtrusively. He must be friendly and interested in people, without forcing himself upon them. He must avoid taking sides in

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arguments and must be very careful not to subordinate people in word or manner. He must be considered trustworthy—and this especially takes time. He cannot expect that promises as to the confidential nature of the work will suffice. People will only have full confidence in him as they get to know him and make up their minds as to what kind of a person he is.

If the researcher needs to maintain a good relationship over a long period of time, it is necessary for him to maintain his interaction in the organization. Time and again we have met the following difficulty. The researcher spends considerable time in a factory and builds up friendly relations with the personnel, so that they talk freely of their problems. Then for a period of a month or two he is unable to visit that plant. When he does return, he finds the people still friendly but somewhat cool and uneasy and not talking so freely. From such experiences we conclude that frequency of contact is important to maintaining close relations and that after any long period of absence, the researcher has to spend some time in restoring his former relationship.

Another factor which seriously affects the development of good relations is the general social tone of the situation. Where there is antagonism between levels and apprehension of authority, it is always difficult to gain acceptance. The tension in such situations makes everyone more wary of what he does and says, especially before the outsider who is sanctioned by management and might be a channel of communication to the top. Where such apprehension of authority is at a minimum there is little difficulty in gaining easy acceptance.

Significantly enough, in tense situations the lower supervisors are often the slowest to accept researcher. If the shop is organized the approval of the union leaders is often all that is needed to gain the acceptance of the workers. In such situations there is often strong antagonism to the intermediate levels and the workers feel that the research presents an opportunity to communicate their feelings to top management in spite of their immediate supervisors.

Even where foremen or workers are very apprehensive of management, it has been possible for interviewers to win their confidence so that they discuss their problems freely. Aside from the skill and University ties of the interviewer, there seems to be one other major factor which makes such a relationship possible. Where we find such anxieties at the bottom levels, we also find that upward communication in the organization has been blocked off. The men at the bottom don't feel free to discuss their problems with their superiors. They must keep their worries to themselves, no matter how insistently the problems demand expression. If the interviewer comes along and handles his role correctly, the opportunity to blow off steam cannot be indefinitely resisted.

In his efforts to build up rapport at the lower levels, the researcher must take care lest he build anxieties and lose support at the top. We had such an experience in one plant. The researcher came in with the support of the plant manager. First interviews were with him, and he saw to it that the researcher was properly introduced to the next lower levels. The interviewing was then carried on at successively lower levels until the researcher settled down and began intensive work with workers and first line supervisors.

In the beginning of the study, the researcher enjoyed frequent informal contacts with the manager, but, as the study proceeded at the bottom levels, these contacts dwindled away. At the end of about two months, the researcher noted a decided change in the manager's attitude toward him. The man had only been on the job for five months when the study began, and he knew that some supervisors and workers were strongly hostile to him. Subsequent interviews showed that he felt the researcher was not interviewing the "right" people, that he was not getting "the true picture" of the situation. His presence therefore was no longer welcome, so far as the manager was concerned.

By returning to interview the manager, the researcher was able to repair some of the damage, and yet from this point on the

manager always talked with his guard up and never gave free expression to his feelings. Had the manager been consulted regularly for advice on people to be interviewed and for his statement of "the true picture," it seems unlikely that this estrangement would have developed.

In a large organization, it is obviously impossible for a single interviewer to maintain interaction at all levels. Where he is interviewing at lower levels, it may therefore be necessary to have a research director meet fairly regularly with management to allow the executives to tell their story. Nor should this be considered simply as a sop thrown to management. To understand human relations in industry, we need a knowledge of patterns of thought, sentiment, and action at all levels of the organization.

To carry on such studies, the researcher needs skill in social adjustment and in gathering information. These skills must go together.

The nature of the social situation is such that certain techniques are ruled out, at least in the early stages of the study. Management is generally reluctant to permit the questionnairing of its employees, and, in any case, the effective use of the questionnaire depends, first, upon some knowledge of the particular social area being studied and, second, upon securing the cooperation of key people in the informal organization. Without such cooperation, the questionnaire will be ignored or made fun of. The same holds true of tests of various kinds. These methods may be applied successfully providing we know the territory well and have built up good rapport in the organization.

At present, our findings depend primarily upon observation and interviewing. The sort of observation required need not be discussed here, for examples are set forth in the paper by Everett Hughes.<sup>2</sup>

Our interviewing is based upon the personnel counselling approach discussed in

*Management and the Worker*<sup>3</sup> or the non-directive interview of Carl Rogers.<sup>4</sup> Modifications have been introduced because our purpose is not therapy but research. When a personnel counselling program is in operation, the worker has a general idea that it will do him some good to talk his problems out, and the counsellor acts simply to stimulate this free expression, regardless of where it takes the informant.

We cannot count upon any such general understanding of our purposes, and we cannot offer therapy—though the informant does find the good research interview a pleasing experience. We must begin by describing our purposes in terms of research, but such explanations are not enough in themselves to get people talking. We have had some experience in trying to conduct the interview as non-directively as possible, and we find that unless the informant is given some leads as to the specific areas we are interested in, he feels lost and does not know how to proceed.

This does not mean that we go in with a preformulated set of questions. Such an approach would make free expression impossible. Instead we start with a few general questions that will put the informant at ease and warm up the conversation. We don't, of course, begin by asking a worker how he feels about his supervisor or about the Union; such questions arouse immediate anxiety. Rather we ask him to explain to us the particular job he is doing. We express an interest in how people happen to get into this line of work and ask him to explain to us how he happened to take a job here, and tell where he worked before. Sometimes the interview drifts naturally from this point into a discussion of some parts of the informant's life history.

These first questions are all formulated in such a way that the informant can talk freely without exposing attitudes which might be subject to management censure. He may volunteer opinions about manage-

<sup>2</sup> "The Knitting of Racial Groups in Industry." See also W. F. Whyte's "Corner Boys: A Study of Clique Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1941.

<sup>3</sup> Roethlisberger and Dickson, Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1941.

<sup>4</sup> *Counselling and Psychotherapy*, Henry Holt and Co., New York.

ment and his supervisors, but he should not feel that he is expected to do so.

While we have gathered some highly revealing first interviews, the interviewer should not think of them in terms of the information they supply. They should be used to establish rapport, to establish a relationship in which the informant talks freely and the interviewer responds to him.

The interviewer should then continue to cultivate this relationship. As he senses that anxieties have been allayed and a friendly tie established, he can begin tentatively to move along into areas of actual or potential emotional conflict. He must map out for himself the areas he wishes to explore and then set about developing interviews which will provide the required information. Always he must be careful not to move too fast or to probe too deeply, least he damage the relationship he is building up.

The interviewer begins by assuming general direction of the conversation, but, as quickly as possible, he passes the reins over to the informant. As the relationship develops, he assumes direction now and then to guide the conversation into areas of his interest. However, he must always be flexible in his approach and quick to encourage the informant to develop quite unanticipated points.

The direction of the interview then depends in part upon what the interviewer is looking for and in part upon what the informant has to say. As interviewers, broadly speaking, we are interested in determining the structure of the social system studied and observing the place of the individual in it. We want information upon the pattern of human relations which exists at the present time and upon the changes that have taken place in this pattern. We are also interested in observing the impact of the technology upon the social system. And we seek to explain the attitudes and behavior of the individual in terms of his experience in the system of human relations. A full explanation of what we are looking for would, of course, require a long paper on our conceptual scheme.

This concludes the discussion of our field work procedures. However, we do not stop simply at this point. Our work is now emphasizing a combination of research and experimentation that involves the following five steps:

1. We make an intensive study of the problem situation.

2. On the basis of that study, we map out a course of action for management, which, we think, will improve that situation.

3. We communicate these recommendations to management in a form such that they can be understood and acted upon. This must be done primarily through informal conversations with executives. Written memoranda may be submitted also, but they are distinctly supplemental to the direct person-to-person relationship.<sup>5</sup>

4. Management takes action along the lines agreed upon.

5. We follow closely every step of management action and make an intensive study of the resulting developments. If events follow the course we have anticipated, we are in a position to observe just how and why these results were obtained. If the results are substantially different, then we are in a position to study the factors that accounted for the discrepancies and gain knowledge out of our own failures.

We have recently established such experimental relationships with four companies. While it is still too early to report upon our results, we feel that, for the purposes of scientific development, it is exceedingly important to put our conclusions to the test of experience.

For purposes of experimentation, we feel that industry has considerable advantages over the community. Being much more loosely knit in its structure, the community presents much greater difficulties in the exact determination of a sequence of human interactions. We are therefore much more likely to find that the experiment succeeds because of actions of people beyond

<sup>5</sup> See Leighton, Alexander, *The Governing of Men*, Princeton University Press, Princeton: 1945, appendix for an excellent discussion of the limitations of memoranda in influencing executive action.

the scope of our observation or that it fails because of factors whose impact we cannot take account of. In industry, the boundaries of the social system are clearly defined, and skillful interviewing and observation can give us a relatively complete record of the sequence of interaction from the boss down, from the worker up, and through the vari-

ous staff organizations.

Perhaps the first major social science experiment was carried on in industry—the test room experiment reported in *Management and the Worker*—and we feel that continued efforts in this direction will yield rich returns in the development of the social sciences.

## THE KNITTING OF RACIAL GROUPS IN INDUSTRY\*

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*University of Chicago*

ELTON MAYO has recently given the name "rabble hypothesis"<sup>1</sup> to the assumptions which, he claims, still guide not merely many managements in dealing with workers, but also many of those who investigate industrial behavior. He refers to the belief that an industrial organization is an aggregation of individuals each seeking his own gain without reference to other persons, and consequently each capable of being induced to greater effort by devices focused upon this desire for advantage. To this assumption Mayo opposes the view that a working force normally consists of social groups, whose members are highly responsive to each other's social gestures and identify their fates with those of their fellows; social groups which, further, are related to others in the larger system of social relations in and about industry. Mayo argues that a state of good cooperation is dependent upon the existence of such groups, even though one of their functions may be some restriction of individual production. He believes, finally, that the "solitary," the person who does not feel himself part of any such group, is actually somewhat disorganized, and not likely to function well in the long run.

The theme of my remarks is that a fruitful way of analyzing race relations in in-

dustry is to look at them against whatever grid of informal social groupings and of relations within and between such groups exists in the industries, departments and jobs in which Negroes or other new kinds of employees are put to work. Recent experience suggests that this grid of relationships, and the manner in which Negroes are introduced into it, are more significant in the success of a policy of hiring Negroes than are the generalized racial attitudes of the white workers concerned.

Polling of white workers to find whether they favor the hiring of Negroes as their equal and close fellow-workers would almost anywhere result in an emphatic "No." Workers generally prefer not to have any new kinds of workers introduced among and equal to themselves. But Negroes have been successfully employed among white workers; and many other new kinds of workers have been introduced among older kinds of workers who were not enthusiastic about them. Polling of attitudes, on this simple basis, gives little clue to the probable behavior of the old workers to the new. The simple "No" of the workers to many proposals of management is not to be taken at face value; for industry has not been run by majority vote of the workers, and a "No" is often no more than a demonstration of protest. In fact, workers more or less expect each other to object to changes proposed by management.

It does not follow that racial preferences and dislikes have no bearing on the ques-

\* Address given before American Sociological Society at the 40th Annual Meeting, March 1-3, 1946, Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. Boston, 1945. Chapter II, and *passim*.

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tion whether the races will work well together. Racial attitudes themselves take on new dimensions when looked at in the framework of the human relations prevailing in industry. It is characteristic of industry that groups of workers who have knit themselves into some kind of organization in and about their work develop some set of expectations, considered little short of rights, that their jobs and their work-fellowship should be limited to persons of some certain kind—as to age, sex, race, ethnic qualities, education and social class. Mr. Orvis Collins, in a recent paper,<sup>2</sup> shows how the management of a New England factory got itself into an impasse by violating the expectation that certain kinds of jobs should belong to Irishmen. We could do with a good deal more investigation of what workers in various jobs and industries consider the proper kind of fellow-worker, what they think are their own rights in the matter, and of the devices which they use to expel newcomers not of the kind they want and of those which management and unions have used to get the newcomers accepted. Such expectations are not likely to be stated formally; they may not even be admitted informally. Defense of the breach of them is likely, as in the case reported by Mr. Collins, to be hidden by indirection of various kinds. It is also probable that some of the so-called non-economic behavior attributed to people new to industry—erratic changing of jobs, failure to respond to wage incentives, quitting industrial work entirely and returning home to farms—may be due not merely to unfamiliarity with the ways of industry. It may be a reaction to rejection by those among whom they have been put to work.

I used the expression "grid of informal relations." By this I mean simply the pattern of grouping which prevails in a place of work. The factory cafeteria, shown in Figure 1, exhibits such a grid; this is the pattern which renews itself every day at noon, when there are the most and the greatest variety of people there. The em-

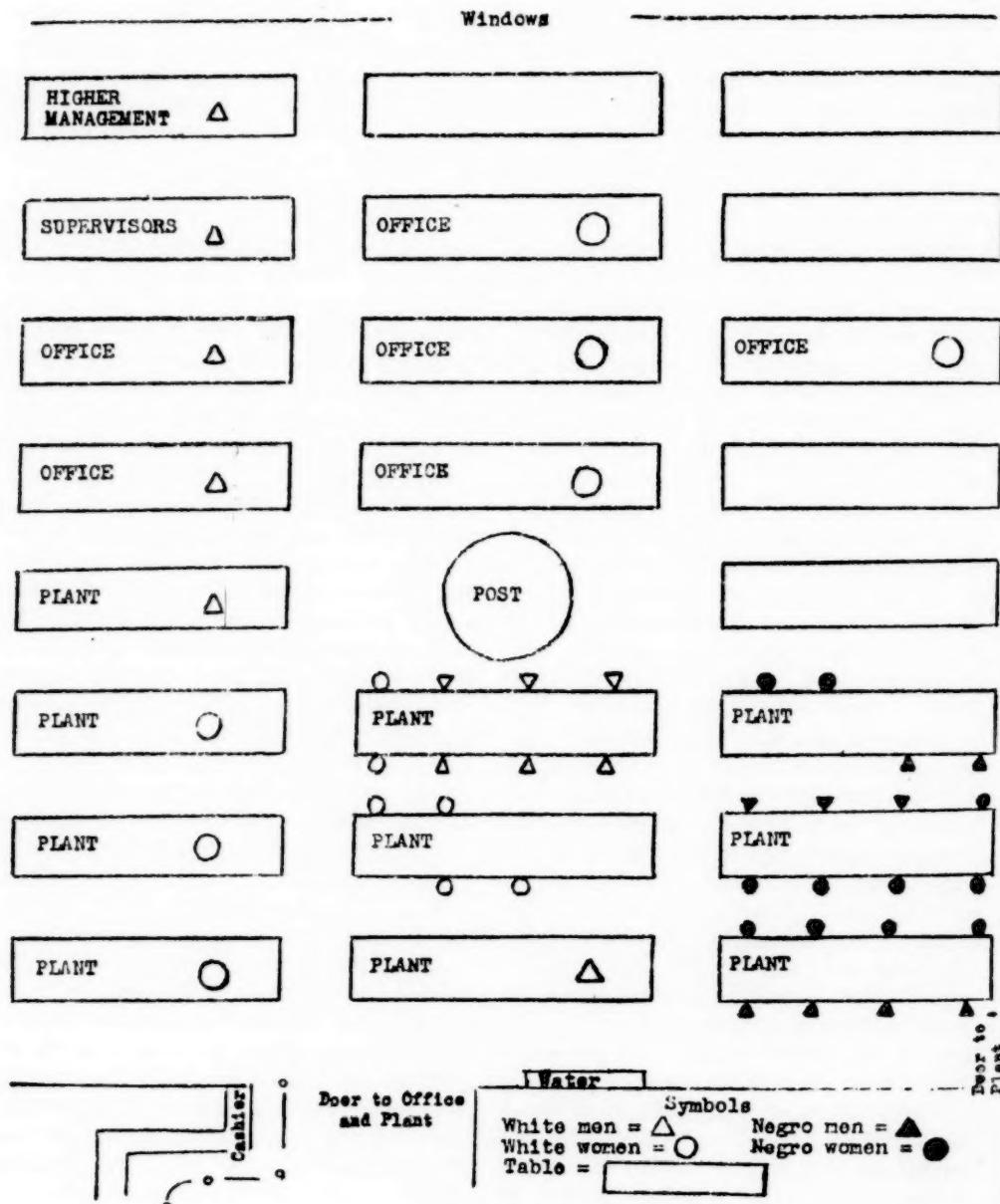
ployees sort themselves according to their rank, sex, and race, and to their places in the office or out in the plant. The observers found also, that while it was seldom possible for all of the workers who belonged to a given close circle to come to the cafeteria and find places at the same table, they did—so far as possible—eat together.

The individual thus finds his table in a grid of rank, sex, race, and personal relations. At a union picnic the unit of the pattern was the table, each serving as headquarters for one or two family parties. The management families were in one corner of the grounds; the mass of the Negro families were concentrated toward the opposite corner. In the middle zone were some tables at which a Negro family party and a white family party sat, but so grouped that Negro faced Negro and white faced white. Near the platform used for announcements, dancing and contests, were the only tables with racially mixed parties. These were the union leaders in charge of the picnic. Thus, in this grid, the family—which is by American definition not racially mixed—and rank within the factory worked together to form a pattern, which the union slightly disturbed by drawing a few people away from the family and away from factory rank to form a small nucleus based on special function.

I mention these examples first, not because of the inherent significance of seating arrangements in cafeterias and at picnics, but because they illustrate so vividly what I mean by a grid of relationships. Incidentally, in both cases the Negroes—with the exception of the few union committeemen at the picnic—fitted into that space in the pattern whose occupants were most numerous and of the lowest rank. None of them had characteristics which would set up any expectation that they might fit anywhere else.

On the job itself, the patterns of relationship are subject in varying measure to the physical lay-out of the shop, the distribution of workers of different races among the various kinds of jobs, by the degree of dependence of one worker upon others for successful performance of his work, as well

<sup>2</sup>"Ethnic Behavior in Industry." *American Journal of Sociology*. LI (January, 1946), 293-298.



**FIGURE I**  
Seating by rank, sex and race in a factory cafeteria.

as by the social atmosphere created by management, supervision, the union and the workers themselves. Furthermore, the informal relations among workers are not always so immediately visible as in the cafeteria and at the picnic. But generally such relations are there, although not all workers are part of any network of groups of people who cooperate in some special way to control what goes on with reference to work or other matters.

#### THE FIXING ROOM

A department called the Fixing Room in a certain plant illustrates one kind of grid or grouping at work and its consequences for race relations. The work is done by

these Negro men revealed that they were subjected to a not very subtle, but very effective torture by the other members of the teams to which they were assigned. Later, the management tried the device of hiring a whole Negro team, which complicated the matter of learning the job; they stayed for some time, achieved a very creditable rate of production, and recently quit in a group. We have not yet found out what happened, but I venture to say that it was fundamentally a case of rejection by the older workers. In this shop there is no place for the solitary individual. One must be integrated into a team-clique to work at all. The homogeneity and traditional solidarity and autonomy of the whole department con-

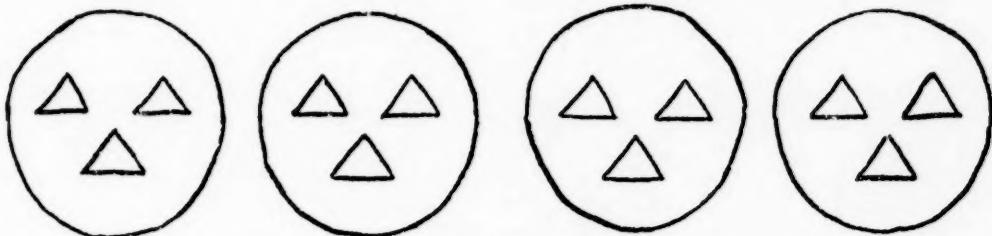


FIGURE 2. Fixing Room.  
(Each circle is a closed work team of three men.)

teams of three men. The members of a team meet and exchange tools and materials without a word and without even a direct look at each other. In fact, there is something of a cult of silence among them. The bonus, which is a large part of their income, is based upon the product of a team. The skills are learned on the job from the other members of the team to which one is assigned. The men are nearly all Poles, past middle age, bound together by kinship and neighborhood. The teams and the whole group together are notoriously and successfully impervious to management's attempts to control their relations, and even the choice of new employees. They pick their own fellows. The labor shortage of the war dried up the sources of new men of their kind and management tried to get new help—Negroes. Several Negro men were hired, but all left after a few days. Interviews with

spired to make the men unwilling to accept new kinds of workers and make management impotent to bring about change against their will.

The power of resistance was probably increased by connivance of the foremen. Many of the foremen in this plant are old-timers, who worked for the father of the present manager. They have a sort of proprietary interest in the departments they supervise; their idiosyncrasies are rather affectionately tolerated. The foremen can thus be, in effect, leaders of departmental cliques. A change of policy thus meets a very dense and intricate resisting structure. In their efforts to hire Negroes in the Fixing Room, management did not succeed in penetrating it.

#### THE POLISHING ROOM

The Polishing Room in another plant shows another type of both formal and in-

formal organization operating in relation to race. In this room, each girl works independently on a machine like all the others. At intervals, all workers are moved along to the next machine. No one has a vested interest in a machine. By dint of good production and long service workers hope to get on the day shift. Many of the white girls of longer service have gravitated to

Something is made of the principle that only those who have good production records will be kept on when and if lay-offs become necessary. There is thus very little in the situation and in the policies of management to induce either a strong individualism or a close grouping of the employees. One would expect it to be a situation into which Negro help could be fairly easily introduced,

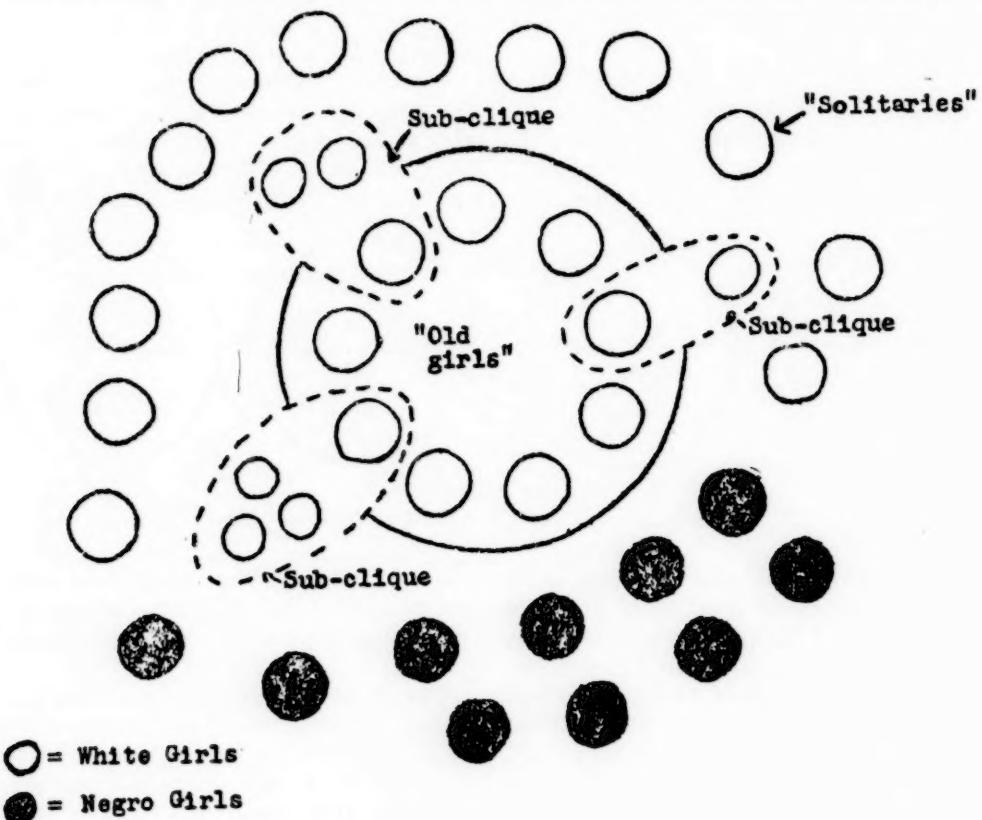


FIGURE 3. Polishing Room.

this shift; it is about two-thirds white, in fact. The swing shift has a larger proportion of Negroes; the night shift, a strong majority of them. The few white girls on the night shift appear to prefer it because of some family reason. A girl cannot by especially high production increase her income; seniority alone brings small fixed increases of hourly wage; long service also brings certain benefits and an annual bonus.

and so it has been. But there is, nevertheless, an informal organization of workers. To quote from the report of the observers:<sup>3</sup>

"An analysis of clique formation and membership provides some clearer insights into such acceptance as the Negro has achieved and into the attitudes and expectation of Negro

<sup>3</sup> To preserve the anonymity of the plant, I must leave out the names of the observers. My apologies to them.

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workers in the plant. There are several recognizable cliques in the Polishing Room; their functions are well defined by their members. The clique is concerned with production and procedure, and with the status and behavior of the individual workers.

The cliques in this room are not mutually exclusive and sharply defined. There is a central group, the 'Old Girls,' made up of young women of from twenty-two to thirty-three years of age and of an average length of service of about five years. The 'Old Girls' eat in the cafeteria; each usually manages to eat with at least one or two of her clique fellows. Another group, also of long service, bring their lunches and eat in the lounge. But there is little association between them and the 'Old Girls' clique. There are a number of smaller satellite cliques, each attached by at least one common member to the 'Old Girls.' It appears likely that a new girl may be sponsored into the organization through the satellite cliques. We observed one girl who was, when first interviewed, unfriendly toward other workers, a 'lone wolf.' Two months later she had been accepted, had ceased to be a rate-busting 'horse' and had even become much more tolerant to the Negro girls."

The clique organization of the Polishing Room may be shown as in Figure 3.

The girls in the central clique, and those oriented towards them seem to be of such skill that they are without anxiety about being able to keep up to or even to surpass the usual rate; they maintain good levels of production, but make statements which make it clear that one of the functions of the group is control of the average rate of production.

White workers have defined a "good day's work" as falling within the limits of one hundred and one hundred and six. Many say that it would be easy to produce more. The girls who say this claim to be fast workers; they explain their failure to produce more by a well-developed rationale: to do more would be to ruin the job for the diligent, but slower workers. But "rate-breaking" is condoned for a day or so for a worker who has fallen behind and wants to bring her average up to par. Apparently a girl who is socially well established in the group can consistently break the rate a

little with only mild teasing as punishment. But outsiders who break the rate are severely punished by ridicule and scorn; if they persist, they remain outsiders and, if associations are important to them, they may be forced off the job. Here is an apparent paradox: Admittance to the group may be secured only by adherence to the established definitions of the group, while unquestioned membership carries the privilege of some deviant behavior.

This is, of course, not a paradox at all; for it is characteristic of social groups to demand of the newcomer a strict conformity which will show that he accepts the authority of the group; then, as the individual approaches the center of the group and becomes an established member, they allow him a little more leeway.

Outside the organization are some white women and all the Negro women. The white women outsiders are a varied lot. Some are older women who must, or think they must, struggle to produce enough to keep their jobs. Some of them say that they are no longer young enough to be able to play. Others show in one way or another that some outside concern is so important as to make them defy or ignore the opinions of their fellow-workers. Some are probably not acceptable for one reason or another—perhaps dress, personal hygiene, or general queerness.

But no Negro girl, no matter what her length of service, her production rate, or her personality, has found a place in the system of cliques of the white girls. The observers report that among the girls in the cliques,

"It is generally understood that Negro workers are to be accorded tolerance and a measure of friendliness. There is ample evidence that there was opposition at first to the hiring of Negroes. In the two years that have elapsed a studied, but tentative acceptance has occurred. Negro and white workers meet each other with good will and friendliness on the job. They carry on conversations at their machines. But this friendliness does not extend beyond the work situation, and it varies in degree within the lesser cliques. White and Negro workers do not eat together except occasionally by accident. Not in any case is a Negro a member

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of a clique of white girls, and apparently conversation between the races seldom touches problems that are mutually important."

This means, in effect, that the Negro girls do not take part in the conversation of social gestures by which the rules and sentiments of the group are communicated to the newcomer, and by which she is offered membership in the clique as a reward for accepting its discipline. Insofar as white girls complain of the conduct of their Negro fellow-workers, it is in precisely the terms they use about white girls who are not in the cliques. The Negro girls, they say, "are all for themselves; they don't try to help each other." One white girl summed up the matter thus:

"Some colored girls . . . don't care what the next person does. They're that way about everything. If one of them makes a hundred and ten (a very high production), the rest of them don't care. Now when a white girl makes that much, we make her slow down because we know how hard it is for some of 'em to make the average."

*Interviewer:* "Why do you think the Negro girls don't try to pull their rates down?"

"Well, they're just like that about everything. They don't even try to help each other."

*Interviewer:* "What do you mean?"

"They don't get into a group. They just mingle with everybody. I don't think the colored girls have any little groups like we have. . . ."

*Interviewer:* "How do you account for that?"

"It's 'cause they're all for themselves. Now you take the white girls; the younger ones will mix with the older girls and they find out what they are supposed to do."

The same worker said of a new white girl "She won't keep no high average. She's mingling more with the other girls, now." Thus she implicitly recognized mingling with other girls and sensitivity to their opinions as a desirable, steadyng experience. She apparently did not see that the very reason for the Negro girl's undesirable production habits is probably that she is excluded from the rewards of group membership. In effect, she is complaining that the Negro girls do not form their own cliques.

That the Negro girls have not dev'loped an organization in this case is borne out

by the observers. We do not know why this is so. But certain considerations concerning the probable reasons bear directly on the points thus far made and on the final one which I have to make.

Some of the white girls are, to use Mayo's expression, "solitaires." Most of the Negro girls are so. The records of production seem to indicate this, as well as their other actions and talk. A few Negro girls have very high rates, and indulge in racing with other workers. Some are erratic in production. Others anxiously struggle to get their rates up to the point where they can feel secure against being the first to be laid off. There is evidence that they think that they are on trial. This is highly individualistic behavior; it is also typically anxious behavior.

We may ask, although we cannot answer with much assurance, why the Negro girls in this room are so unorganized. First, they are not in the white clique organization because they are not given the chance to be in it. Then, why do they not form an organization of their own? Perhaps because they are new, relatively speaking. Perhaps because on the day shift, where the main white clique developed, they—the Negro girls—are in the minority and would hesitate to form what would be considered a rival group. Perhaps it is that there are no Negro girls who feel secure enough in their positions to form a disciplining group which would, as part of its discipline, control production. In this particular plant the management has undoubtedly made a strong attempt to reduce discrimination. Now the way they have done it is to emphasize that the Negro girl will be hired, kept and promoted strictly according to her individual merits.

This is a point on which we may make some tentative generalizations. This very emphasis on treating the individual on his merits can become a source of over-individualistic anxiety. For the statement "You will be judged on your own merits," repeated too often becomes a dinning into one's ears of the thought, "You are on trial. I doubt whether you can make it, but if you do I will give you credit. Most people

of your kind can't make it. I shall be astonished if you do. If you do, you will certainly be an exception. You've got to show me." This bit of imagined talk is, in fact, not far from what foremen do say to Negro workers in many plants. It contains an invitation, almost a threatening command, to the Negro worker to be a "solitary."

Now this might not work with Negroes of the least ambitious class or those working at traditional Negro jobs. But in the Polishing Room the Negro girls show potential or actual middle-class behavior and sentiments, as do also most of the white girls; nor are they employed at "Negro jobs." And this brings us to our general point. The individualistic or "rabble" hypothesis of industrial management—that each worker is an individual who may be induced, and who ought to be able to be induced to work for his own ends without regard to his fellows—is almost unconsciously applied with redoubled force to the Negro worker. The behavior it encourages is, in its essence, the behavior of the ambitious person. The ambitious white worker may dissociate himself from his fellows to some extent, and in spite of being somewhat disliked he may get promotions for it. The Negro worker apparently feels and is made to feel in some situations that he has to dissociate himself from others and be a "solitary" in order merely to keep his job. I do not think the Polishing Room is a situation in which this is unusually so. But the combination of individually separate work, with the particular pattern of white informal organization from which Negroes are excluded, and a management policy which gives the Negro girls definite hope that they can gain security by individual effort—and in no other way—might be expected to keep them a somewhat anxious se-

ries of solitaires rather than a stable organized group.

The Fixing Room illustrates the problem which arises in a shop where the informal organization consists of a series of closely related tight teams into which the individual worker—white or Negro—must fit in order to work at all. The Polishing Room has an open formal structure, easy for the individual to enter; and a moderately open, but nevertheless, powerful, informal structure of cliques. But it is not quite open to Negroes, and the results are as have been reported.

These two cases are, however, alike in that no attempt has been made to modify the informal organization so as to relate Negroes to it. In the Fixing Room, after a first attempt to put Negroes into existing teams failed, management attempted to set up Negro teams, but without trying to define their relations to existing teams. In the Polishing Room, management tried to create general tolerance. In other cases, a union or management has made a more definite effort in this regard. It seems fairly common for a vigorous union administration successfully to encourage bi-racial groups of shop leaders. We have observed a few cases in which foremen who are the centers of informal groups of their own workers, have developed something of an inter-racial organization. More often the opposite occurs where the foreman occupies such a position. I cite these additional cases, without the description necessary for you to judge of them, to indicate the variety of situations which may occur, and also to introduce a final point; namely that the situation may often be changed by some active force, either union or management, which takes the pattern of informal relations into account.

## THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN MIDDLE-SIZED CITIES\*

### The Stratification and Political Position of Small Business and White Collar Strata

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*Guggenheim Fellow, 1946*

**T**HE PROBLEMS which the middle classes pose for the social scientist are typically metropolitan in character and nation-wide in scope. White-collar workers in particular, are thought of in connection with big cities, and most recent discussions of the Middle classes as a whole focus either upon the nation or upon the metropolis. The sociology and politics of these strata in middle-sized<sup>1</sup> cities may nevertheless be worthy of study.

Such cities are convenient units for empirical analyses; they offer a point of contrast for information and theory dealing with nations or with big cities, and despite the fact that many large problems may be more sharply posed in national and metropolitan areas, some of the issues of politics and social structure take on fresh meaning and reality when translated into the con-

crete terms of smaller and more readily understood units.

If one keeps in mind the "place" of the middle-sized city in the nation and in relation to various city-size groups, it is a convenient point of anchorage for more extensive analysis of stratification, politics, and ideology. The position of the U. S. middle classes cannot be fully determined without attention to those living among the 15 million people who in 1940 resided in the 320 middle-sized cities.

#### STRATIFICATION AND POLITICAL MENTALITY

A city's population may be stratified (a) objectively in terms of such bases as property or occupation or the amount of income received from either or both sources. Information about these bases may be confined to the present, or may include (b) the extractions, intermarriages, and job histories of members of given strata. Such "depth stratification" adds a time dimension to the contemporary objective bases of stratification. Subjectively, strata may be constructed according to who does the rating: (c) each individual may be asked to assign himself a position, (d) the interviewer may "intuitively" rate each individual, or (e) each individual may be asked to stratify the population and then to give his image of the people on each level.<sup>2</sup>

Properly designed studies in stratification will use both objective and subjective criteria: indeed, one of the key problems of

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<sup>1</sup> Middle-sized cities include those between 25,000 and 100,000 population. Middle classes include the smaller business and the white-collar people. The small business stratum includes retail, service, wholesale, and industrial proprietors employing less than 100 workers. (In the present data from Central City, the small business men employ far fewer, on the average 2 to 4.) The white-collar strata include families in the salaried professions and minor managerial positions, clerks and stenographers and bookkeepers, salesmen in and out of stores, and foremen in industry.

Materials used in this paper were gathered, in connection with studies having quite other purposes, for the Office of Reports, Smaller War Plants Corporation (6 cities extensively covered), and the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University (one city intensively covered). This is publication number A-70 of the latter institution. My colleague, Miss Helen Schneider, has been most helpful in her criticism of this manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> In the present paper, we are not concerned with the intuitive ratings of interviewers, and space will not permit us to utilize fully the quantitative data available.

stratification theory is to account for such discrepancies as may thus appear.

The general problem of stratification and political mentality has to do with the extent to which the members of an objectively defined strata are homogenous in their political alertness, outlook and allegiances, and with the degree to which their political mentalities and actions are in line with the interests demanded by the juxtaposition of their objective position and their accepted values.

Irrational discrepancies between the objectively defined bases of a stratum, the subjectively held policies of its members and their commonly accepted values do not necessarily point to problems of method. They may indicate the "false consciousness" of the stratum we are examining.<sup>3</sup> Lack of structural unity and of political direction are symptoms of the many problems covered by this term that have as yet only been touched by modern empirical research.

Political mentalities may or may not be closely in line with objectively defined strata, but a lack of correspondence is a problem to be explained—in terms of the homogeneity of the situation of the stratum, the social relations between its members, the reach and content of the mass media and of the informal networks of communication that lie along each stratum, etc.

In examining the stratification and politics of the white collar and small business strata in middle-sized cities, we are concerned with whether or not each of them is a homogeneous stratum, with the degree and the content of political consciousness that they display, and with whether they reveal any independence of policy, or are politically dependent upon the initiative and ideologies of other strata.

<sup>3</sup> "False consciousness," the lack of awareness of and identification with one's objective interests, may be statistically defined as the deviant cases, that is, those which run counter to the main correlations in a table: for example, the rich who vote Socialist, the poor who vote Republican. "Objective interests" refer to those *allegiances and actions* which would have to be followed if the *accepted values* and desires of the people involved in given strata situations are to be realized.

The objective stratification of the U. S. middle-sized city has fallen into a rather standardized pattern. It will naturally vary from one city to another in accordance with the degree and type of industrialization and the extent to which one or two very large firms dominate the city's labor market. But the over-all pattern is now fairly set:

When the occupations of a cross section of married men in Central City<sup>4</sup> are coded in 24 groups and ranked according to average family income, five strata are crystallized out: between each of them there is a "natural" break in average income whereas the average income of the occupations making up each income stratum are relatively homogeneous. These strata, with their average weekly income (August, 1945), are as follows:

(1) Big Business and Executives .....	\$137.00
(2) Small Business and Free Professionals ..	102.00
(3) Higher White-collar <sup>a</sup> .....	83.00
(4) Lower White-collar <sup>b</sup> .....	72.00
(5) Wage Workers <sup>c</sup> .....	59.00

These strata fall objectively into the "old" (1 and 2) and the "new" middle classes (3 and 4). Both these classes, however, are definitely split by income, and this split, as we shall see, is also true of other variables.

There is one point on which both objective and subjective methods of strata construction give similar results: Of all the strata in the middle-sized city, the small businessmen and the white-collar workers occupy the most ambiguous and least clearly defined social position: (a) The images which observers on other objective levels of

<sup>a</sup> A mid-western city of 60,000 population selected as "the most typical" on the basis of 36 statistical indicators gathered on all mid-western cities of 50-80,000 population. On the over-all index for all cities of 100, Central City was 99.

<sup>b</sup> Salaried professional and semi-professional, salesmen, government officials, minor managerial employees; income range: \$80.00 to \$87.00.

<sup>c</sup> Government protection and service, clerks, stenographers and bookkeepers, foremen; income range: \$71.00 to \$76.00.

<sup>d</sup> Due to wartime "up-grading" there are in this sample very few "manual laborers"; these make about \$14.00 less than the skilled and semi-skilled average.

the city ascribe to these occupational groups seem to vary the most widely and to be the least precise; (b) Correspondingly, in terms of a great many attributes and opinions, the white-collar people and, to a lesser degree, the smaller businessmen are the least homogeneous strata. Both in the subjective images held of various strata and in their objective attributes, the city is polarized; the small businessmen and the white-collar workers make up the vaguer and "somewhere in-between" strata.

#### I. THE SMALL BUSINESS STRATUM

##### *Its Social Composition and Prestige.*

When we ask people in the several objectively defined strata to discuss the position and rank of the small businessman, a fundamental difference occurs between the ranking given him by upper-class and that given him by lower-class observers.<sup>8</sup>

To the lower-class observer, little businessmen are very often the most apparent element among "the higher-ups" and no distinctions are readily made between them and the "business" or "upper-class" in general. Upper-class observers, on the other hand, place the little businessmen—especially the retailers—much lower in the scale than they place the larger businessmen—especially the industrialists. Both the size and the type of business influences their judgment.

In fact, two general images are held of small businessmen by upperclass people. They correspond to two elements of the upper class: (a) The socially new, larger, industrial entrepreneurs rank small business rather low because of the *local* nature of these little businessmen's activities. Such upper-class people gauge prestige to a great extent by the scope of a business and the social and business "connections" with members of nationally known firms. These criteria are opposite to the status-by-old-family-residence frequently used by the

second upper-class element: (b) The old family rentier ranks the smaller businessmen low because of his feeling about their background and education, "the way he lives." And, as we shall see, the smaller businessmen cannot often qualify with these standards.

Both upper-class elements tend to stress a Jewish element among the smaller business stratum (although there are very few Jewish families among the smaller businessmen in Central City) and both more or less agree with the blend of "ethical" and "economic" sentiment expressed by an old-family banker: "The independent ones are local operators; they do a nice business, but not nationally. Business ethics are higher, more broadminded, more stable among industrialists, as over against retailers. We all know that."

But wage-worker families do not know all that. They ascribe power and prestige to the small businessman without really seeing the position he holds within the upper strata. "Shopkeepers," says a lower-class woman, "they go in the higher brackets. Because they are on the higher level. They don't humble themselves to the poor."

(a) The social composition and (b) the actual power position of the small business stratum help us to understand these ambiguous images.

(a) Since they earn about the same average income as the free professionals, the small businessmen are in the Number Two income bracket of the city. But they are not at all similar to the other high income groups in occupational, intermarriage and job histories. In these respects, the free professionals are similar to the big business owners and executives, whereas the smaller businessmen crystallize out as a distinct stratum different from any other in the population.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>These remarks are based on 45 open-ended interviews in Central City, a baby sample within the parent sample; and some 60 random interviews in 6 other middle-sized cities.

<sup>9</sup>The figures on small businessmen which are given below are quite small: in an area sample of 882 homes we caught 37 small businessmen. No per cents from such a small base are given unless they are significant according to critical ratios. Nevertheless, the results should be taken with a grain of

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Almost three-fourths of the small businessmen are derived from the upper half of the occupational-income hierarchy. Yet this relative lack of mobility is not the only, nor necessarily the most relevant point at hand: when we compare small business with other occupations of similar income level, we notice that they contain the greatest proportion of ascending individuals now in the higher income brackets: 18% of those who are urban-derived had wage-worker fathers and 9% had low-income white-collar fathers. Thus 27% come from the lower groups. The free professional and big businessmen, on the other hand, do not include any individuals who derive from wage-worker or low income white-collar.

Slightly more than half of these small businessmen have married girls whose fathers were in the upper-half of the income-occupation ranks. About 40% of them married daughters of wage workers; the remaining married into the lower income white-collar stratum. This 40% cross with wage workers is well over three times greater than for any other of the occupational groups in the higher income brackets.

The job histories of these little businessmen reveal the same basic pattern. Only one out of five of them were in a job as high as small business at the time of their marriage (their average age is now around 48) whereas almost half of them were working for wages at that time. Well over half (57%) did wage work for their first full-time job.

In contrast, all the free professionals were professionals by the time they married, and three-fourths of the salaried professionals—who make on the average \$13.00 a month less than the small businessmen—were in their present jobs when married. At the bottom of the society we find the same type of rigidity: 9 out of 10 of all grades of labor were wage workers at their time of marriage.

There is rigidity at the bottom and at the top—except among small businessmen who,

salt, and caution exercised in any further use made of them: in reality, we are here dealing with qualitative materials.

relative to comparable income groups, have done a great deal of moving up the line.

Almost twice as high a proportion of the big business and free professional men have graduated from high school as is the case for small businessmen, despite the fact that the small businessmen are slightly younger. Moreover, the wives of small businessmen rank fourth in education, just above laborer's wives, in our five-fold occupation-income strata; over half of their wives never finished high school, as compared with only one-fourth of the wives of men in comparable income groups.

The small businessmen are of the generally upper ranks only in income; in terms of occupational origin, intermarriage, job history, and education, more of them than of any other occupational group of such high income are "lower class." A good proportion of them have rather close biographical connections with the wage worker strata. These findings help us explain the difference between the images held of them by members of the upper and of the lower strata. The upper class judges more on status and "background"; the lower more by income and the appearances to which it readily leads.

(b) The ambiguous prestige of small business people has to do with power as well as with "background:" the small businessmen, especially in cities dominated by a few large industrial firms, are quite often "fronts" for the larger business powers. They are, civically, out in front busily accomplishing all sorts of minor projects and taking a lot of praise and blame from the rank and file citizenry. Among those in the lower classes who, for one reason or another, are "anti-business," the small business front is often the target of aggression and blame; but for the lower-class individual who is "pro-business" or "neutral," the small businessmen get top esteem because "they are doing a lot for this city."

The prestige often imputed to small business by lower-class members is based largely on ascribed power, but neither this prestige nor this ascribed power is always claimed, and certainly it is not often cashed in among

the upper classes by small businessmen. The upper-class businessman knows the actual power setup; if he and his clique are using small businessmen for some project, he may shower public prestige on them, but he does not "accept" them and he allows them only such "power" as he can retain in his control.

#### *Organization Power of Small Business.*

The centers of organizational life for the top are the Chamber of Commerce and the service clubs, and for the bottom, the several trade unions. There are vast differences in their scope, energy and alertness to chances to play the larger civic role. The Chamber of Commerce is more compact and disciplined in its supporting strata and more widely influential in its infiltration and attempted manipulations of other voluntary associations. It is, in many towns, a common denominator of other voluntary organizations. Its hands, either openly *via* "committees," or covertly *via* "contacts," are in all "community" affairs of any political consequence. But the trade unions do not typically reach out beyond themselves, except when their leaders are included in projects sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

If both CIO and AFL unions operate in a city, the Chamber of Commerce can very often play them off against one another; usually the old AFL men are quite flattered by being included in Chamber of Commerce committees which thus build them up before the citizenry as representing "labor" in this town. The younger CIO men are confronted with the choice of following this older route of compromised inclusion or of playing the lone wolf, in which case they rest their civic chances entirely upon their strictly union success.

The organization of the Small Business Front is quite often in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce; and many of the hidden wires behind the scene are manipulated by the local bank setup, which is usually able to keep The Front in line whenever this is considered necessary by large industrial firms. The political and eco-

nomic composition of a well-run Chamber of Commerce enables the organization to borrow the prestige and power of the top strata; its committee includes the "leaders" of practically every voluntary association, including labor unions; within its organizations and through its contacts, it is able virtually to monopolize the organizing and publicity talent of the city. It can thus identify its program with the unifying myth of "the community interest."

This well-known constellation of power underpins the ambiguity of prestige enjoyed by small businessmen, and provides the content of their ideology and political efforts.

#### *Ideologies of Small Business.*

The ideology of small businessmen rests upon their identification with business as such. They are well organized, but "their" organizations are pretty well under the thumb of larger businesses and the banks. The power of big business is exercised by means of threats "to leave town," by simply refraining from participation in various organizations, by control of credit sources, and by the setting up and using of small businessmen as fronts. The small businessmen, nevertheless, cling to the identity: "business is business." They do not typically see, nor try to act upon, such differences as may exist between the interests of big and little business. The benefits derived from "good relations" with the higher-ups of the local business world, and the prestige striving, oriented towards the big men, tend to strengthen this identification, which is organized and promoted by their associations.

One of the best contemporary sources of information on small business ideology is provided by the field hearings of the SWPC.<sup>10</sup> These are "gripe sessions" usually held in local hotels in the presence of a congressman or his delegate. A rough content analysis of these discussions, occurring during the late war, reveals that the bull's-eyes of the small businessman's aggression are labor and government. The attitude toward

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., *Hearings*, Senate Small Business Committee, S. Res. 298 (76th Congress) Part 6.

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"labor" magnifies its power: "We know that labor, at the present time, has the upper hand. They tell us what to do." And the resentment is quite personalized: "Think of the tremendous wages being paid to laboring men . . . all out of proportion to what they should be paid . . . a number of them have spoken to me, saying they are ashamed to be taking the wages." And another one says: "I had a young man cash a check at the store on Monday evening for \$95.00 . . . Another case . . . made a total of \$200.00 for 30 days . . . We would not class him as half as good as our clerks in our store . . . Naturally to hire men today to do this common labor we are going to have to compete with (war factories)." "A man has to run short-handed or do the work himself."

Toward government, the attitude is resentment at its regulations and at the same time many pleas for economic aid and political comfort. The only noticeable talk against big business is in such governmental statements, by staff members of Senate committees, as: the definition of a small businessman is one who "hasn't got an office or a representative in Washington." The independent little businessman believes: "We are victims of circumstances. My only hope is in Senator Murray, who, I feel sure, will do all in his power to keep the little businessman who, he knows, has been the foundation of the country [etc.] . . . We all know no business can survive selling . . . at a loss, which is my case today, on the new cost of green coffee."

"Small business . . . what is it?" asks the manager of a small business trade association. "It is American Business . . . it is the reason we have an American Way." Such phrases as "the little businessman who has built up, by sweat, tears and smiles, a business . . ." underline the importance placed by this stratum on its own virtue. The ideology of and for small business thus carries self-idealization to the point of making it the content of nationalism.

The attitude towards "government" is blended with a self-estimate of virtue: the criterion of man is success on Main Street:

"Another thing that I resent very much is the fact that most of these organizations are headed by men who are not able to make a success in private life and have squeezed into WPA [sic] and gotten over us and are telling us what to do, and it is to me very resentful. And all these men here know of people who head these organizations, who were not able to make a living on Main Street before."

This ideology apparently rests to some extent upon a sense of insecurity. For example, in Central City, the wives of low income businessmen worry about "how the postwar situation will affect you and your family" more than any other strata, although they are followed closely by the lower white-collar people. Sixty per cent of the low income business people worry a great deal, as against 45% of those of higher income. The small business families are apparently aware that they make up the margins of free private enterprise. And—in view of their ascent—perhaps they remember that everything that goes up can come down.

It is also of interest to notice that the wives of smaller businessmen are not nearly so sure as one might expect that "any young man with thrift, ability and ambition has the opportunity to rise in the world, own his own home, and earn \$5,000 a year." In Central City<sup>11</sup> only 40% of them believe it, as against 68% of the higher income business people. They are still, however, a good deal more optimistic than the low income white-collar people (26%) who are the most pessimistic stratum in the city. About 37% of the wage workers' wives, regardless of income, are optimistic of the climb.

## II. THE WHITE COLLAR STRATA

### *Social Composition and Images of White-Collar People.*

The lower classes sometimes use the term, "white-collar," to refer to everybody above

<sup>11</sup>We first asked this ascent question in general; then we followed it up with: "Could he do it in (Central City)?" The optimism of all strata dropped greatly when the question was brought closer home to them.

themselves. Their attitude varies from the power-class criterion: they are "pencil pushers" who "sit around and don't work and figure out ways of keeping wages cheap," to the social-pragmatic criterion: "The clerks are very essential. They are the ones who keep the ball rolling for the other guy. We would be lost if we didn't have the clerks." This latter attitude may be slightly more frequent among those workers whose children have become clerks.

The upper classes, on the other hand, never acknowledge the white-collar people as of the top and sometimes place them with laborers. An old upper-class man, for instance, says: "Next after retailers, I would put the policemen, firemen, the average factory worker and the white-collar clerks." Interviewer: "You would put the white-collar people in with the workers?" "Well, I think so. I've lived in this town all my life and come to the bank every day but Sunday, and I can't name five clerks downtown I know."

The white-collar people are split down the middle by income, extraction, intermarriage, job history, and education. Of the men in the higher of the two white-collar income classes, 61% are derived from the upper-half of the extraction-income hierarchy, as compared with 49% of the lower white-collar men who are from the upper half by extraction.<sup>12</sup>

The *urban* origins of the several occupations of the higher white-collar stratum are homogeneous as regards extraction; but the lower white-collar stratum of urban origin contains occupations of quite different extraction which cancel out into a misleading average: The clerks are closer in origin to the higher white-collar as a whole, about 50% being from the upper half, whereas the foreman are quite like labor,<sup>13</sup> only 25% being from the upper half.

In intermarriage, job mobility and educa-

tion similar situations exist: members of the higher white-collar bracket are homogeneous in intermarriage: about half of them have married women whose fathers were in the upper half of the hierarchy. The lower white-collar stratum is split: the women whom clerks marry are similar in background to the wives of the upper white-collar. Foremen, on the other hand, show a tendency to marry more along the lines that the labor strata follow; yet they marry small businessmen's daughters in about the same proportion (27%) as clerks, minor managers and salaried professionals, thus forging another link between small businessmen and the laboring class.

The salesmen and the salaried professionals have not experienced much job mobility: 6 out of 10 of them were in higher white-collar at the time of their marriage. In the lower white-collar, again foremen stand out as exceptions: 67% of them were wage workers at their time of marriage and 75% worked for wages in their first full-time job.

Whereas the formal education of the clerks is similar to that of higher white-collar (only 5 to 11% of high white-collar and clerks never going beyond grade school), 40% of the foremen have never gone beyond grade school; this places them educationally only a little above skilled workers.

The lower white-collar is thus not a homogeneous stratum by extraction, intermarriage or job history: some of the occupations in it are sociologically affiliated with labor and some with the occupations we have ranked by income as higher white-collar.

The white-collar people are, as we have seen, split by income. But the images held of them as a whole seem to be drawn from the occupations belonging to the lower half of the white-collar income level. The upper white-collar people, especially the salesmen, tend to merge with the sponge term, "business," and are thought of as "businessmen" by many members of the upper class. Most upper-class people derive their images of the white-collar people largely from stereotypes of "the clerk."

The ambiguous rank of the small business-

<sup>12</sup> There are 117 families in our higher white-collar group, and 92 in the lower. In the general origin table, farm owners are put with upper half, farm tenants and laborers with the lower half.

<sup>13</sup> The cases of government protection and service were too few to permit a reliable calculation.

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man is explained by his social origin and by the "power" which is ascribed to him by the lower but denied to him by the upper. The ambiguous position of the white-collar worker, on the other hand, rests less upon complications in, and pressures on his power position than upon his absence of power. They have no leaders active in civic efforts; they are not, as a stratum, represented in the councils; they have no autonomous organizations through which to strive for such political and civic ends as they may envision; they are seldom, if ever, in the publicity spotlight as a group. No articulate leaders in these cities appeal directly and mainly to white-collar people or draw their strength from white-collar support.

The few organizations in which white-collar employees predominate—the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the YWCA—are so tied in with business groups as such, that they have little or no autonomy. Socially, the lower white-collar is largely on "the Elk level" and the higher white-collar usually is in the No. 2 or 3 social clubs; in both these situations they form part of a "middle-class mingling" pattern. They are "led," if at all, by salesmen and other such "contact people" who are themselves identified with "business."

The organized power of the middle-sized city does not include any autonomous white-collar unit. Which way the unorganized white-collar people will swing politically and which of the two civic fronts they will support seems to depend almost entirely upon the strength and prestige of autonomous labor organizations within the city, a point to which we shall return.

#### *White-Collar Ideologies.*

The ideology of the white-collar people rises rather directly out of their occupations and the requirements for them. They are not a well defined group in any other readily apparent sense. This ideology is not overtly political, yet by political default, it is generally "conservative" and by virtue of the aspects of occupation which it stresses, it

sets up "social" distinctions between white-collar and labor and makes the most of them.

Those white-collar people in middle-sized cities, for example, who "contact the public" exhibit the psychology of people working a small and personally known market from within small and moderate-sized firms. In this respect, they are the typological opposites of salesgirls in metropolitan department stores who work a mass public of strangers. Fifty-three small merchants and salespeople in Central City,<sup>14</sup> almost unanimously knew personally the people they served and were very "happy" about their work. Their attitude towards this work is seldom material. It rests upon a communalization between buyer and seller: 63% spontaneously mentioned enjoyment at contacting their public, which is twice as high as for any other single reason for liking their work.

This general ideology has four discernible contents: (a) the idea that they are *learning about human nature*, which is mentioned by about one-fourth of them; (b) the feeling that they *borrow prestige* from their customers; sometimes the prestige source includes the merchandise itself or the store, but its center is normally the customer; (c) the opposite of prestige borrowing: the feeling of *power in manipulating the customer's appearance and home*; this is more apparent, of course, among cosmetic and clothing sellers; (d) The idea of *rendering service*: about one-fourth speak explicitly in terms of an ideology of service, which is interwoven in various ways with the other contents.

These key elements in the occupational ideology of salespeople in medium-sized cities, (1) rest upon the facts of a small and personally known market; (2) in emphasizing just this contact aspect of their work,

<sup>14</sup> Twelve were small business operators; 2/3's are women; about 1/2 of the total have finished high school. The implicit contrast with metropolitan salesgirls is anchored on quotational materials gathered over several years by Mr. James Gale, "Types of Macy Salesgirls," seminar paper, University of Maryland, Graduate School.

the white-collar people seize upon precisely an occupational experience which wage workers do not and cannot have; they make a fetish of "contacts"; and (3) the ideology, as a whole and in its parts, is either neutral or pro-business in orientation.

Similar ideological analysis of other occupations making up our two white-collar strata reveal similar tendencies. Nothing in the direct occupational experience of the white-collar people in middle-sized cities propels them towards an autonomous organization for political or civic power purposes. The social springs for such movements, should they occur, will be elsewhere.

The direct appeal to higher wages, through collective action, which the trade unions hold out, is in tension with these occupational ideologies.

"I can't understand why they don't organize," says a business agent for an old-line union. "They got a high school education or more. Looks to me like they'd be the ones to organize, not the man in the ditch with fourth grade education. But it seems to work out just the other way . . . The solution is to come down to earth and realize that the prestige of this would-be manager and assistant manager is camouflage for cheap wages. The glory of the idea of the name takes the place of wages . . . that's all I can figure out."<sup>15</sup>

Such a contrast between status and class interest, which is rather typically known by alert trade union men, leads us to expect that only if labor gets civic power and prestige will the white-collar people in these cities string along. So long as their occupational ideology and status claims remain as they are, they will not make a "class fight," although they will try to share in the results, if those who make it for them win out.

#### *White-Collar Politics.*

In the general polarization of the middle-sized city's stratification, the top and the

<sup>15</sup> There are of course other reasons, besides status claims and occupational ideologies for the difficulties of unionizing white-collar workers; see C. Wright Mills, "The White Collar Unions: A Statistical Portrait and an Outline of Their Social Psychology" (forthcoming).

bottom are becoming more rigid: 73% of the upper half of the income-occupation scale is descended from the upper half. There is also a rather distinct polarization in organization life, in ideological loyalty, and in political tendency.

There are no available symbols which are in any way distinctly of the white-collar strata. Contrary to many expectations, these middle groups show no signs of developing a policy of their own. Neither in income nor mentality are they unified. The high white-collar are 40% more Republican than their lower white-collar colleagues.

They do not feel any sharp crisis specific to their stratum. They drift into acceptance of and integration with a business-run society punctuated by "labor troubles." In these cities, it may be pretentious to speak of "political tendencies" among white-collar workers. And such problems as the relations of party, trade union, and class cannot even be posed: The white-collar people are not a homogeneous class; they are not in trade unions; neither major party caters specifically to them, and there is no thought of their forming an independent party.

Insofar as political and civic strength rests upon organized economic power, the white-collar workers can only derive such strength from "business" or from "labor." Within the whole structure of power, they are dependent variables. They have no self-starting motor moving them to form organizations with which to increase their power in the civic constellation. Estimates of their political tendencies in the middle-sized cities, therefore, must rest upon larger predictions of the manner and outcome of the civic struggles of business and labor.

Only when "labor" has rather obviously "won out" in a city, if then, will the lower white-collar people go in for unions. If the leaders of labor are included in compromise committees, stemming from Chamber of Commerce circles, then such white-collar groups as exist will be even more so.

Lenin's remark that the political consciousness of a stratum cannot be aroused within "the sphere of relations between

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workers and employers" holds doubly true for white-collar employees in these cities. Their occupational ideology is politically passive. They are not engaged in any economic struggle, except in the most scattered and fragmentary way. It is, therefore, not odd that they lack even a rudimentary awareness of their economic and political interests. Insofar as they are at all politically available, they form the rear guard either of "business" or of "labor"; but in either case, they are very much rear guard.

Theories of the rise to power of white-collar people are generally inferred from the facts of their numerical growth and their indispensability in the bureaucratic and dis-

tributive operations of mass society. But only if one assumes a pure and automatic democracy of numbers does the mere growth of a stratum mean increased power for it. And only if one assumes a magic leap from occupational function to political power does technical indispensability mean power for a stratum.

When one translates such larger questions into the terms of the middle-sized American city, one sees very clearly that the steps from growth and function to increased political power include, at a minimum, political awareness and political organization. The white-collar workers in these cities do not have either to any appreciable extent.

## FREEDOM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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**T**HE problem of freedom is an old one, but for free men its importance is such that it can bear periodical re-examination. The term itself is ambiguous, for it has been used in many senses, not only by the philosophers but by practical statesmen as well. The discussion of freedom has often been involved with the idea of free will; at other times it has referred more concretely to freedom of action within society. The questions connected with free will and determinism are primarily problems for metaphysics and ethics and, in the main, only normative answers can be given to them. The conditions which are conducive to freedom of social action, however, are more amenable to historical and sociological investigation, and it is this relationship which will provide the basis for discussion.

From the sociological standpoint the problem of freedom is primarily a problem of social structure. This means that it is a legitimate task for the sociologist to inquire into the socio-historical conditions, particularly the structure of power relationships present in various types of societies, which are most closely correlated with freedom of social action. A thorough study would, of course,

require an intensive historical research into the fluctuation of freedom under the impact of changing forms of political, economic and social organization. But even a preliminary presentation of the question requires some working definition of freedom that will lend itself to some degree of objectivity of treatment. The problem therefore resolves itself into two main topics for analysis: the nature of freedom, and the consideration of the forms of social structure which are conducive to freedom.

It may be said that the amount of freedom that an individual possesses is measured by the number of things he can do without interference from others. In this sense his freedom is a function of someone else's freedom, for this other person's concrete freedoms may be such that they tend to inhibit the freedom of action of the first individual. If Van Wyck has the freedom to levy assessments on the produce of Jones, then Jones does not have the freedom to dispose of the product of his labor as he sees fit. If Jones joins with Smith and Muller and Laski, then he may be able to limit and institutionalize the amount of assessments so that the economic relationship to

Van Wyck becomes much more predictable. It then becomes much more possible for Smith to plan his course of economic action. The freedom of any concrete individual or group, therefore, would appear to be a *resultant* of his or their position *vis à vis* other persons or groups. This paper will attempt to show that freedom flourishes most when the relationships of groups are in a relative equilibrium determined by a reciprocity and accommodation necessitated by each group having to take into account in its action the interests, values and power of other groups. This is true according to the degree to which the various groups are relatively equal to one another, thereby insuring the improbability of any one group attaining a monopoly of control over the rest.

Freedom may be defined in terms of the *probability* that specific groups or individuals can formulate their ends of conduct and initiate a course of action with a minimum degree of constraint from other persons, and with a high degree of predictability of the consequences of their acts within the institutional and associational structure of the community. In other words, it is determined by the degree to which persons, distributively or collectively, can plan a course of action without arbitrary and unpredictable interference. The essence of freedom, therefore, is its *rationality*, in the sense that it is defined according to the *predictability* of the probable expectations tied up with a course of action.

It must not be forgotten, however, that predictability in itself does not exhaust completely the meaning of freedom. For although the essential rationality of freedom implies the ability of the agent to plan his actions with reference to his probable expectations; the range of action may be severely limited by the institutional structure of society, so that even if the agent can count on the relative stability of the stateways and *mores*, his action may be inhibited by the socio-juridical structure of a narrow, authoritarian state. The rationality of freedom implies, therefore, not only the relative predictability of the future; it implies, as well, the ability to plan and act with a

minimum degree of external constraint. Both of these aspects of freedom are implied in the popular definition in terms of the degree to which "man is the master of his own destiny."

## II

Man, as a political animal, lives his life in groups, and the concrete freedoms which he enjoys derive their sustenance and vitality from the backing of his group *vis à vis* other groups. The romantic, highly individualized conception of freedom, so popular in the literature of the nineteenth century, and useful as it may be in motivating individual thought and action; fails, nevertheless, to provide a realistic theory of freedom which can do justice to the sociological and historical roots of social action. Romanticism provides an ideal of freedom rather than an explanation or analysis. In its emphasis on the ideal of personal autonomy, Romanticism brushes aside the problem of the situational determination of freedom.

A normative philosophy can operate with such concepts as those of Romanticism, for its purpose is not to explain reality, but rather to motivate action in the light of the ideals or norms which it establishes. Sociology, however, has as its end the explanation of socio-historical reality, and must therefore set a different course when it embarks upon an exploratory cruise. This does not imply that the purpose of motivating men's action is any less worthy than the venture of explaining or understanding it; it merely implies that the two problems are different in their conception and resolution, and that the problem of explanation logically precedes the problem of motivation. For it is only after we have determined the conditions under which freedom can thrive that we can expend our efforts towards the realization or maintenance of these conditions.

A sociological theory of freedom, therefore, must take as its starting point the *socius*, that is, the individual as a member of a group, class, or social type, rather than the abstract individual-as-such that forms the nucleus of Romanticism.

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knowledge<sup>1</sup> have demonstrated that the idea of freedom is itself conditioned by the group membership of the individual. For the conservative, freedom usually means the freedom to exercise his prerogatives and to conduct his affairs with a minimum of interference from the state or other organized groups. Although at first glance this conception might not seem to run contrary to our general definition of freedom, in practice it tends to violate social freedom to the degree to which it refuses to recognize the claims of other groups to free action. In other words, it recognizes freedom only for its own class, and endeavors to keep other social strata subordinated to its will.

The revolutionist, on the other hand, defines freedom primarily in terms of freedom from the restrictions and prerogatives of a strongly entrenched dominant class, and, in its revolutionary fervor, calls for the destruction of that class. This is as true of the ascendant bourgeoisie in its struggle against the feudal aristocracy as it is of the revolutionary proletariat of our day.

A little reflection makes it clear that both of these groups are operating with a particularistic conception of freedom, for they both define freedom in terms of their own class interest. The unreconstructed conservative and the reactionary admit freedom as a good only for their own group, and wish to deny it to others just as soon as they feel that their class interests are threatened. The revolutionist, in reaction to this situation, wishes to deny the very basis of freedom to the dominant group, that is, their continued existence.

A pluralistic or total definition of freedom must take into account the interests and aspirations of all societal groupings: economic, political and cultural. Because of this, the methodological standpoint of an objective social philosophy must be moderate, in spite of the personal political predilections of the investigator.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936, esp. pp. 244-246. Also Mannheim's "Das konservative Denken," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 57, pp. 90. ff.

If the degree of freedom is dependent upon the relative absence of external constraint, it will be correlated also with those societal conditions which tend to limit the power of social groups in relationship to one another. The problem of freedom, therefore, is primarily a problem of the group structure of society. We say the *group*, rather than the *institutional structure*, for the efficacy and operation of institutions, as well as their origins, rests ultimately with the groups which establish them and carry them out in their social behavior. Social institutions are patterns of social action which arise out of group life, and which crystallize the dominant attitudes of the community. Institutions are dependent, therefore, upon the probability that certain established forms of social interaction are present, have been present, or will be present within and between groups.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, then, institutions are derivative, while it is the concrete grouped individuals who make up society that are primary in any realistic social analysis.

Within a specific socio-historical situation, the existing system of power relationships will determine the degree of freedom which is present. The system of power relationships itself is the resultant of the relative power of the component groups of a society. The social freedom of any individual, in turn, is largely dependent upon the relative freedom of the group of which he is a member.

Inasmuch as the freedom of the individual is rooted in the social situation of his group, and derives efficacy and stability through the backing of his group in the social field of action, the problem of inter-group relations is definitive in determining the conditions of freedom.

### III

What types of social intergroup structures are to be analyzed? The strictly political

<sup>2</sup> This definition is derived from Max Weber's definition of social relation given in his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. (Translated by José Medina Echavarria under the title *Economía y Sociedad*, Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, 4 vols., Vol. I, sect. 3., pp. 24-26).

classifications are misleading, for they refer primarily to forms of government rather than types of society. The Aristotelean classification into monarchy, aristocracy and democracy is not of much help, for specific freedoms have flourished under all three forms. Economic classifications, as well, are often irrelevant, for commercial, industrial and agricultural communities exhibit varying degrees of freedom. A socio-economic classification is perhaps more to the point, but even the categories: feudal, bourgeois-capitalist, proletarian-socialist, fascist, etc., fail when viewed in historical perspective, for all of these types may take a totalitarian form whenever one of the constituent social groups achieves a relative monopoly of control and power. This does not mean that political or economic forms are irrelevant to freedom, for certain historical correlations can be demonstrated to exist, but only that the social basis of freedom is broader than its economic or political base.

Our classification of societal types must therefore be *sociological*, rather than economic or political. A sociological classification of inter-group structures has its basis, as has been indicated, in the group structure as such. This means that the typology is to be constructed on the most general level of analysis, i.e., on the basis of the inter-group relations within the total system of social relationships.

Emile Durkheim in his *Division of Labor in Society*<sup>3</sup> has suggested one such classification which we may take as our starting point. He divides societies into those based on *mechanical* solidarity and those based on *organic* solidarity. According to his system, mechanical social structures are those which are characterized by such features as homogeneity, little or no division of labor, a minimum degree of individuality and a maximum degree of social constraint. These conditions exist primarily in primitive societies where differentiation of groups, individuals and social functions is at a minimum. Since prac-

tically no differentiation is present, there is little diversification of group interests, values or attitudes. Such societies, to use a biological analogy, may be said to be *amorphous*.

A later differentiation, which occurs when institutions begin to crystallize out of the division of society according to a more clear cut differentiation of the religious from the secular, the economic from the recreational, etc., is the *segmental* society. The division here, however, is still primarily *institutional* rather than *associational*.<sup>4</sup> There is as yet little differentiation into functional groups, the division is rather on the basis of different collective interests of the community.

As individuals begin to specialize according to institutional interests, and start to perform more specialized economic functions, definite groups with specific group interests begin to emerge. The greater the degree of specialization which is reached, the larger becomes the amount of interdependence of the specialized segments, and the more diverse become the interests and attitudes of the component groups. In this way the *organic* society emerges, characterized by a high degree of group differentiation, multiplication of interests, specialization of function, increasing interdependence and wide *heterogeneity*. Because of the diversification of interests and values which is concomitant with this increasing heterogeneity, the amount of collective constraint decreases, since the unanimity of attitudes which prevailed in amorphous societies is no longer present, and the divergent social groups must learn to accommodate themselves to one another.

According to Durkheim, this transition from primitive amorphous societies through segmental to organic social structures is an evolutionary process intimately correlated with the division of labor and an increasing specialization of function. This development has as its consequence the multiplication of societal groups as well as the increasing individualization of their members. Inas-

<sup>3</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, (translated by George Simpson) New York: Macmillan, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Robert M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937, pp. 14-16.

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much as freedom is closely correlated with group structure, Durkheim's theory of group differentiation as a general historical process provides a preliminary orientation to our problem of constructing a typology of social structures.

We have seen that the multiplication of groups caused by the division of labor in an organic society has as its consequence an increasing need for accommodation between the divergent social groups. As long as no specific group obtains a monopoly of power, the various groups can protect the interests of their constituent individuals. On the other hand, as soon as one particular group begins to achieve a relative monopoly of power, the concrete freedoms of the members of other groups begin to decline proportionately. This is true, apparently, no matter which group obtains a dominant position to the extent that it no longer needs to take into account the interests and values of other groups.

During some periods of history it has been the priesthood that has achieved an almost complete monopoly of politico-hierocratic power: Egypt, Medieval Christendom, Zwingli's Geneva, Cotton Mather's New England. At other times, the land-owning aristocracy arrogated to itself an almost complete control over the machinery of the state. In its turn, the ascendant bourgeoisie has been able to control the Legislatures to the virtual exclusion of other social classes. Proletarian governments have rooted out the vestiges of any opposition, not only from other class alignments, but from within their own "classless" stratum as well. In Fascist societies it has been the government party machine and bureaucracy itself which has achieved the greatest monopoly of force and control the world has ever seen.

In most of these cases political dominance has been achieved through a disproportionate degree of economic control of certain groups as compared to the other groups within a society. The source of the initial advantage may have been due originally to conquest, e.g., early feudalism. Sometimes it has been the result of greater technical competence as in the case of Rome. Per-

haps in most cases it has been due to the fact that certain groups were strategically situated historically to take full advantage of a changing economic situation, and the lack of enterprise, interest or imagination of other more firmly entrenched strata; e.g., the bankers and merchants of Renaissance Florence *vis à vis* the old Florentine aristocracy.<sup>5</sup>

Although it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of economic control in determining the structure of power relationships, this should not blind us to the relevance of ideological and political factors as well. The fact that certain political doctrines may be considered extremely useful by particular groups in furthering their own ends does not mean necessarily that the parties expressing these doctrines are the "tools" of these groups. The political party, rather, may be their accomplices and eventually their masters. A case to the point is Nazi Germany where the National Socialist party eventually achieved dominance over the economic interests which originally backed them in their ascent to power. At other times, ecclesiastical, military, ideological or charismatic groups have attained strategic positions in the distribution of power relationships which enabled them to dominate politically the historical situation in spite of a relatively secondary economic position.

Inasmuch as the amount of power of any specific group is restricted by the social pressure which other groups can bring against it, it follows that a hyper-individualized or atomized society is in greater danger of falling under the dominance of the first organized group that comes along than is a society where various units of possible resistance already exist. A society split into too large a number of tiny conflicting groups, as well, will find it difficult to organize a significant opposition in case of need. On the other hand, when one or two groups have obtained control of the social structure, the resulting oligarchy is in a

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Alfred Von Martin, *Sociology of the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1944.

position to dominate the majority for its own purposes. The optimum condition for freedom, therefore, lies somewhere midway between totalitarianism at one extreme and atomized individualism at the other.

#### IV

In order to visualize the relationship between freedom and social structure just described, a graphic device may prove useful. The optimum condition for freedom may be represented by the high point of a bell-

Thus the minimal degree of group integration (extreme individualism) is correlated with a low degree of freedom and would be illustrative of Hobbs' "war of all against all." This provides the first type of our projected classification, and may be designated as *atomistic*. Historical types tending to fall within this area of the curve are anarchy, frontier democracy, and the magic-ridden, cut-throat competitive economy of Dobu.<sup>6</sup>

The minimal degree of societal integration

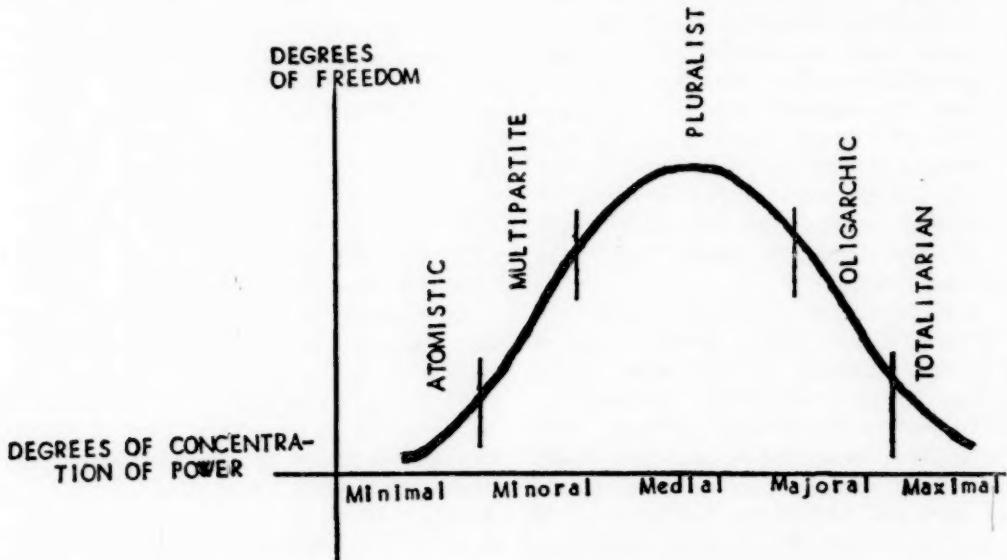


FIGURE I. Variations of Freedom in Relation to Systems of Power Relationships

shaped curve; the decline of the probability of freedom in the directions of both atomism and totalitarianism is indicated by the declining slopes to the left and right of the medial distribution. (Fig. I)

In this statistical analogy the horizontal ordinate represents a continuum from a completely disorganized social structure (atomism) to the absolutely regimented society (totalitarianism). The intervening steps represent degrees of group organization and concentration. The vertical ordinate represents the varying degrees of probability that free institutions will be present in relationship to the underlying social inter-group structure.

is characterized by the shattering of society into a multitude of small competing groups, resulting in a relatively low degree of social stability which in turn can pave the way for dictatorship and the monolithic state. It is characterized by a multiplication of small groups: many autonomous economic organizations, a large number of competing sects, a multi-party system where no one party can achieve a parliamentary majority or significant minority, and a society lacking a basic consensus concerning its ends, institutions or organization. In the world-

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934.

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political sphere we have the example of the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian City States which were at the mercy of unified national powers. Societal types are more difficult to find, although in certain respects the French political scene during the thirties approximated this condition. To designate a *multipartite* system an alternative botanical term suggests itself: *multifid*, cloven into many segments.

The high, medial segment of the curve represents the optimum condition for the development and maintenance of freedom. It is the *pluralist* society characterized by the presence of large, well integrated groups representing significant divisions of interests and values. The various groups are limited in their power by the fact that the interests of other groups must be taken into account. The power of the state is limited by the power of organized public opinion and large special interest groups; the pressure exercised by business interests is counterbalanced by the forces of organized labor; both management and labor must take into account the interests of an integrated consumers' movement and other public agencies; no one religious group possesses a monopoly of spiritual values, and the various religious groups learn to accommodate themselves to one another; religious thought is denied absolute sovereignty over ideas by the presence of independent secular thought maintained by a free press, free universities, free literary movements, learned societies and organized scientific research. In the sphere of production, a pluralist society might allow for the operation of more than one form of economic organization: not only corporations and single entrepreneurship, but worker owned cooperatives and state organized collectives as well. Probably no community has ever achieved the optimum degree of pluralist organization, but the United States of America, Great Britain and Sweden may be considered as illustrative of societies tending to approximate the conditions of a pluralist society. The problem of the citizenry of these states is to extend the equilibrating democratic forces which tend to secure the pluralistic conditions of free-

dom, while combating the twin dangers of monolithic totalitarianism and atomistic individualism. In this connection it must be stressed that a consensus must exist amongst the various groups concerning the relative desirability and validity of the underlying institutional structure. This consensus exists to the degree to which the groups are convinced that they can realize their aims within the framework of the society as a going order. Without this basic agreement, the pluralist society degenerates into a conflict society of warring strata, classes, organizations and pressure groups.

The ancient term, *oligarchy*, may be retained to designate the declining slope of our hypothetical curve. The chief index is the increasing concentration of power into the hands of specific vested interests; irrespective of whether these interests are aristocratic, bourgeois, military, proletarian, ecclesiastic or bureaucratic. It is inevitable, perhaps, that this tendency will manifest itself at critical historical junctures and revolutionary periods. The role of the moderate (if he keeps his head) during these periods is to provide a critical oasis during the transition, while adapting himself realistically to the logic of events and the pattern of history. This means that the role of the moderate is a progressive rather than a reactionary one; but that, at the same time, he cannot share the fanaticism of the extreme left any more than he can that of the extreme right, and still be the carrier of general human and cultural values: the dignity of man, individual responsibility, judicial impartiality, the preference of persuasion to force; in a word, all of the *values* which make him prefer freedom to domination. In normal times, the moderate or pluralist will tend to support those social strata which have not as yet achieved relative equality of status within the society.

Located at the bottom of our declining slope is the *totalitarian* society. It is totalitarian precisely because it has systematically destroyed all independent groups and autonomous opinion. It resembles the atomistic society in that the individual again operates without the backing of any group of his

own. It differs from the atomistic society, however, in the fact that this time the atomized individual faces the full power of an omnipotent Leviathan state. Because of this it might be preferable to label the process as "massification" rather than "atomization." For while "atomization" takes place more or less spontaneously, "massification" is the product of the deliberate policy of the totalitarian state to destroy all possible social groups which could some day challenge its authority.<sup>7</sup>

The purpose of constructing the hypothetical curve was to provide a frame of reference within which the relationship of freedom and social structure might be shown as a continuum. The curve, obviously, does not represent an experimentally derived frequency distribution. It might be described as an "ideal-typical" curve, arbitrarily divided into five segments, each segment representing a formal "pure type" of social structure. On the basis of this ideal typical distribution it is then possible to define societal types more precisely, and to locate roughly on the curve historically given social structures. The curve serves as a reminder, as well, that freedom is a matter of degree,

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Emil Lederer, *The State of the Masses*, New York: Norton, 1940. According to Alfredo Povía, *Historia de la Sociología Latinoamericana*, Mexico: 1941; the Argentine positivist, José María Ramos Mejía, has given a penetrating account of the role of unorganized masses in paving the way for dictatorship in his *Las Multitudes Argentinas* (1899) and *Rosas y su Tiempo* (1907).

rather than an "all-or-none" affair, and that it is correlated with the structure of group relationships present in society.

## V

In the sphere of action, the citizen who values freedom would, if he agreed with these considerations, adopt a flexible policy calculated to support those socio-historical trends which appeared to be conducive to a pluralistic social structure. He would be suspicious of social movements which called for the abolition of traditional freedoms and the establishment of absolute control by some one group or stratum over the community. He would find himself in opposition to those who would maintain at all costs the *status quo* in spite of the changes made necessary by new historical conditions, realizing the dangers inherent in an explosive socio-historical situation. He would give support to those groups which were struggling to achieve a greater equality of status, influence or power, so that the disproportionate power of other groups would be lessened. All of these policies would have as their end the maintenance and extension of freedom through a democratic equilibrium of forces, guaranteed by the mutual accommodation of relatively equal interest groups, maintained by a basic consensus, realistically orientated to historical conditions and trends, and motivated by a liberal-pluralistic ideology of good will, fair play, compromise and progress.

## HIDDEN VALUATIONS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SEXUAL AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

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WITH the growth of a science of sociology we tend to become less vociferous and self-righteous about objectivity, developing, instead, a new humility in the face of the complexities of the subject-matter. As this intellectual maturity develops, we may perceive that valuations are concealed in sociological interpretation

at many points.<sup>1</sup> These valuations may not have been recognized by those who propounded the original theories, but science

<sup>1</sup>The most significant contribution in recent years to our knowledge of hidden biases in sociological interpretation is that contained in Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, Harper and Brothers, 1944, Appendix 2, "A Methodological Note

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is a cooperative undertaking and it may fall to others to introduce the necessary corrections. Such corrections often consist in uncovering a philosophy of life that is implicit in the interpretation, yet has not been set forth explicitly. As a case in point, we shall consider here interpretations of certain major issues relating to sexual and family relationships which are commonly accepted by American sociologists today.

### I

In the first place, a radical step is taken by the individual as soon as a scientific interpretation of the family is substituted for prescriptions originating in theology and traditional morality. This displacement of religious-moral imperatives in favor of a sociology of the family is simply one aspect of the secular trend in all modern thought. In the scientific frame of reference, behavior is judged by its consequences, not by absolute standards and intrinsic values. By this method the mores may be examined and evaluated. No longer will tradition and indoctrination suffice. Sociology introduces a pragmatic realism into areas where pre-scientific thought has been dominant through the ages. This is especially true in the field of family relationships and sexual behavior, for here dogma and emotion are rampant in our culture. At present the whole approach to these problems is undergoing radical alteration. When the young ask their incessant "why," they are not to be put off with ancient cant or appeals to authority. Adults too are less inclined to utter the old formulations in a day of scientific secularism. In regard to these relationships, it seems that the public is only beginning to appreciate the breadth and the depth of this intellectual revolution.

Anthropological research has contributed significantly to the secularization of thought in this area. Nowadays cultural variations in the sexual and marital mores can be illustrated by almost any college sophomore. Such knowledge tends to destroy ethnocen-

trism. It weakens the sanctioned imperatives by giving a new perspective from which the culture may be viewed with critical detachment. Indeed, it may be said that our family system is under fire as soon as the meaning of the comparative-cultural approach is comprehended. Rationalism begins to flourish. Every nook and cranny of the family system comes under scrutiny and possible re-valuation. Nothing is sacred, nothing immune.

The significance of this revolutionary change in the basis of evaluation is incalculably great. Its influence is far more pervasive than any of the more specific trends to be encountered in the pages that follow. Science attacks the generalizations and rationalizations approved by the culture, not so much by direct refutation, as by supplying a new method of thinking. Evasiveness and hypocrisy tend to disappear as reason and objective study take over the task of interpretation. Sociology has aroused popular opposition in many quarters because of its irreverence toward the tribal lore. This opposition would be far greater if the implications of the social-scientific approach were understood more fully.

### II

In the study of the family there has been a tendency, particularly in the older textbooks, to emphasize "problems" such as marital maladjustment, errors of parents, parent-child conflicts, divorce, desertion, illegitimacy and prostitution. Briefly, the reasons for such a selection are as follows. (1) Somewhat erroneously, the authors of these textbooks believed that these phenomena represented deviations from the normal functioning of the institution of the family. As such, the study of these conditions has been considered as one aspect of abnormal sociology or social pathology. (2) Conventional moralistic standards may form the basis of selection as in the case of illegitimacy or prostitution. (3) This textbook emphasis is also related to the fact that American sociology has origins in the field of social work. The social worker must try, on an ameliorative level, to work out im-

on Facts and Valuations in Social Science." The present writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to Mr. Mydral.

mediate problems connected with such phenomena as desertion and divorce.

Nevertheless we must consider the possible effects upon the student of such a selective emphasis. How many emerge from instruction of this type with new attitudes of caution, skepticism and suspicion? How often is the whole experience of courtship, marriage and parenthood unconsciously portrayed as a formidable path full of pitfalls? Such instruction is certainly not "value-free." On the contrary, it may be tendential to an unsuspected degree. These implicit biases may be exaggerated further when the teacher or author adds a personal slant that takes the form of calamity-howling, the utterance of dark forebodings or of various attitudes indicating personal insecurity. More specifically, the sociologist's own matrimonial career may be a primary factor in determining his views. When this marital experience has included serious frustrations, interpretation of the family will be distorted further in the direction indicated. The cumulative effect upon students may be to discourage many from getting married at all.

### III

A young woman once announced at home that the main idea which she had gained from her course in the family was that premarital sexual relations were not immoral. Her conservative parents were shocked and irate. Without delay the father complained to the school authorities. When the instructor was apprised of the case, he was highly disturbed. When had he advocated premarital freedom? Never, so far as he could recall. It is not possible for us to know all the facts of the case but it is legitimate to inquire into the interpretative emphasis given by the instructor. Let us suppose that the subject of birth control had been taken up in the course. Let us suppose further that the teacher had indicated a favorable attitude toward contraceptive practices of recognized merit. Now it is the clear implication of this valuation that sexual intercourse need not occur solely for purposes of procreation. College students who are not

over-protected from the realities of life will already know that sexual intercourse often takes place when only recreation, and not procreation, is sought. Yet the issue takes on new significance when the sociologist-teacher seems to be giving approval to such practices. This gives the whole matter a kind of official sanction. To be sure, the approval is tangential. But it seems clear that the advocacy of birth control suggests ways of enjoying sexual relations while avoiding pregnancy, fear of which has kept many of the young and unmarried from violating the sexual mores of a puritanical culture. Did our instructor realize that valuations of this sort might be hidden away in his attitude toward birth control?

Suppose further that he had analyzed conventional sexual morality in terms of tradition, religious indoctrination, cultural lag and other appropriate sociological concepts. Again, the trend in the mores toward greater freedom may have been stressed and, in this connection, the various factors leading to the new freedom in sexual behavior may have been considered. These are, of course, proper areas for inclusion in an academic course dealing with the family. However, as the matter now stands, it could hardly be claimed that this presentation of the subject is devoid of evaluative significance. In the first place, the teacher has looked at the moral imperatives with analytical detachment rather than emotional acceptance. Such detachment on the part of adult authority in itself may be novel to the student. Moreover, sexual freedom is portrayed here, unwittingly perhaps, as the "coming thing" and, as such, would appeal to many adolescents. If our analysis conforms in any appreciable degree with the facts of this case, is it any wonder that the young woman drew her blunt conclusions? At the same time, one can understand the bewilderment of the instructor. He had intended to present this issue with non-evaluative detachment; yet it is obvious that valuations were hidden in the interpretation. This may be stated without giving any consideration whatsoever either to purely personal bias or to the tendencies of students

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It is possible to prevent misunderstandings inherent in this type of social interpretation. In order to accomplish this, care must be taken to distinguish between broad analysis of social trends and advocacy of a course of action for a particular individual living in a contemporary setting. One's frame of reference should be made quite explicit in order to avoid confusion. The practical man may be unable to understand the significance of issues that do not bear directly and exclusively upon the present situation. His analysis will be cramped, being concerned largely with immediacies. The theorist, on the other hand, may be incapable of appreciating the pressing problems being faced by those, who, of necessity, must function within a given framework of environmental factors. His broader approach may be only partly relevant to the issues of the moment. At any rate, confusion is bound to occur when the level of analysis is not made explicit. The practical man may perhaps be excused for his failure to make these distinctions, since he is not an intellectual specialist—although considerable harm may follow from such failure. However, the social scientist must be held to a stricter standard. He should know when he is dealing with long-range tendencies and when he is offering practical suggestions to persons living in a particular time and place. As a case in point, readers may be confused by Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* which does not make this distinction. Converts to the sexual ethics outlined and defended in this book may find to their astonishment that, in adopting the new ethics, they soon run athwart conventional attitudes on the part of their partners, themselves and any others who may be concerned. The older attitudes remain social forces in concrete situations in spite of Russell's sharp diatribes.

In the second place, the substitution of a more complete analysis of consequences for naive Utopianism would tend to eliminate bias and misunderstanding from sociological interpretation. Fuller analyses would include

a critical estimate of both new satisfactions and new problems that are likely to result from changes in the sexual mores. The simplified, partisan views contained in the aforementioned book would have to be checked at many points by data from cultures where a high degree of sexual freedom is approved. Wishful thinking and propaganda are inadequate substitutes for comparative studies of human behavior. To illustrate the point further, Russell's disparagement of the traditional concept of marital fidelity may be mentioned. Does he realize that, especially in the middle years of life, men and women do not have equal opportunities for romantic experiences outside marriage? The woman quite commonly has a more narrow range of contacts and, as she gets older, her attractiveness to the opposite sex declines more sharply. It is apparent at once that such issues are far more complex than this author realizes.

#### IV

Sexual behavior is discussed more openly than before, of course, and professional students of the question generally agree that the newer attitudes are more wholesome than the inhibitions of puritanism. Yet this atmosphere of frankness easily leads to new valuations of dubious merit. Sex has been dragged out into the open but it is often handled pretty roughly in the process. Indeed, certain sociologists and psychologists appear to be puritans turned upside down: from evasion the pendulum has swung to pre-occupation with the purely physical aspects of sex. The result is a biological realism that ignores the idealistic potentialities of sex. A man and a woman who are deeply attached to one another may draw courage and inspiration from their relationship. They may even find in it the essentials of a religious faith. The beauty of such experiences has been described by many poets but, if these are facts of human experience, they belong also to the human sciences. Mere mastery of sexual technique cannot guarantee a good adjustment between man and woman where rapport is lacking, for human beings cannot be dealt with on a simple,

biological level. Rapport is the product of sympathetic understanding and patient, intelligent effort. Sexual experiences are psycho-biological phenomena in which sentiments of many subtle varieties combine integrally with biological impulses. Mechanical technique will not solve the socio-psychological relations between the sexes. Yet this new realism encourages a narrow definition of sex that really stems from the traditional inhibitions of our culture. To the puritanical mind "sex" tends to be defined as sexual intercourse. This narrow definition gains currency because it is the sexual act itself that is heavily tabooed by our asceticism and this taboo only serves to attach special significance to the act and verbal references to it. However, a more scientific treatment of the subject should avoid not only puritanical attitudes and definitions but also the biological realism that represents a reaction against these. At the present time a more constructive approach, based upon research material, is called for, rather than a continued flouting of the old mores.

## V

Parents have been subjected to a great deal of criticism by the professional students of the family. Here the influence of a legitimate concern for the wholesome development of the child is apparent but how often is concern also manifested for the rights and individuality of the parents? In this respect the sociologists are expressing current attitudes toward children to be found especially among the middle class. Now it is far from the present intention to attempt a refutation of this attitude of respect for the child. The newer ideology is consistent with findings in psychology and psychiatry, and it represents an important aspect of social democracy. Moreover, this philosophy is appropriate to a culture where birth rates have declined to the point where much more adequate attention can now be given to the welfare of each child. Yet all of this laudable emphasis may be accompanied, *pari passu*, by a tendency to belittle parental efforts and to underline their errors. Such

an interpretation is highly agreeable to the young who may be engaged in various conflicts with parental authority. Sociology is on their side!

If we wish to develop a scientific interpretation of parent-child relations, let us go the whole way and do a thorough job of it. Exclusive attention to the rights and individuality of the child can make prigs out of the rising generation. Indeed, it seems to have done so already in certain quarters. Here, as in other aspects of family relationships, sociological theory has followed too slavishly the ideological tendencies of the culture; and, as in the case of the sex mores, it continues to attack practices that are passing from the social scene. It is time for a more inclusive approach to parent-child relationships. The restrictions and sacrifices entailed by having children must be understood more fully. Only upon such understanding can a population policy be formulated that will be able to counteract the tendencies to lower birth rates. The simple fact is that many parents need sympathetic understanding at this stage of evolution.

Moreover, sociology is not fulfilling its educational responsibilities if the young are not led to realize that the scientific point of view applies to the personalities and problems of the other members of the family as well as to themselves. The liberal value of an academic course in the family would be enhanced if the development of insight on the part of adolescents into the parental roles were to become an educational aim. Actually, college students often receive education for parenthood when this could be given more effectively to parents and prospective parents. The focus of such teaching could be altered so that there would be less concentration upon what parents ought and ought not to do. Instead of instruction with a practical slant that is quite premature for undergraduates who have no immediate prospects of marriage, much less of parenthood, we might teach more appropriately along the following lines: the cultural imperatives placed upon parents, the nature of their motivations, the sources of frustra-

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tion. This type of emphasis might broaden understanding of family relationships and, by so doing, fulfill one of the purposes of liberal education. More specific education of prospective parents could be offered at a later point in the educational process, perhaps as part of a program of adult education.

Many eugenists look upon class differentials in birth rates as a primary factor influencing the quality of a population and, in this connection, the low birth rates of college graduates have been pointed out many times. It is not necessary to enumerate here all the reasons for family limitation among this group, but it is entirely possible that formal instruction dealing with child development bears a measure of responsibility. Nineteen or ninety ways to be a bad parent may be discussed. All sorts of parental mistakes are brought to light. The textbooks and teachers state, quite properly, that the personality of the child can be distorted in many ways by ignorant and negligent parents and that early distortions cannot be obliterated easily, if at all. Is it not possible that the rearing of children is portrayed as a business where few can hope to succeed? To what extent do such influences, emanating from genuinely scientific sources, discourage parenthood?

On the constructive side, the optimum conditions for the wholesome development of children may be stressed in formal instruction. Such a delineation of ideal conditions is likely to set a high standard for those young people who are soon to be reaching decisions concerning marriage and parenthood. Now the possession of a high standard is usually regarded as desirable, but it sometimes happens that effort is discouraged where the standard is quite beyond reach, or is at least thought to be. Once again unintended influences maybe at work here. The desire of intelligent and conscientious parents to provide the best conditions and opportunities for their children may be an important factor in birth restriction. Perhaps the perfectionist tendencies in sociological and psychological instruction are not

insignificant causes of the dysgenic effects deplored by social biologists.

## VI

Apart from the colleges operating under the auspices of the Roman Catholic church, discussion of contraception is becoming common in academic courses and textbooks dealing with the family. Legal restrictions as well as expediency usually dictate that the treatment be confined to a study of social causes and consequences of contraceptive practices, with only vague references to the biological aspects of the question. However, that may be, the main point is that birth control (or "planned parenthood") is likely to be defended by sociologists, while those who would restrict the dissemination of scientific information usually come in for adverse criticism. It need hardly be asserted that contraceptive practices are here to stay and, in spite of religious opposition, are destined to be taken up by all groups in the population. Perhaps, on the basis of this realization, many students of the family are simply "cooperating with the inevitable" in taking a favorable attitude. When such an attitude, however, becomes the foundation of a population policy, it has implications that need to be examined closely.

The handicaps of parenthood are greater today than ever before. Urban life, mobility, recreation outside the home, the new interests of women—these and other conditions of modern life combine to place parents at considerable disadvantage as compared with their childless associates. Children are an economic liability as never before in human history. Under these circumstances one can readily appreciate the prevalence of family limitation, for it represents a social and economic adjustment to the environment. The justification of birth control in the sociological literature may be presented from this point of view. The interpretation is oriented toward the parent or prospective parent: it represents practical, private family policy. The handicaps of parenthood enumerated above are, from this standpoint, the given conditions of the situation, the

factors to be reckoned with, in determining a course of action for the married couple. From the couple's immediate point of view (and decision cannot be postponed indefinitely), these given conditions may be considered relatively unalterable but the size of the family can be regulated to fit the socio-economic environment. Their policy is determined accordingly.

How often is sociological interpretation compounded of a sympathetic understanding of the married couple's plight? Indeed, the professional student may be reflecting his own personal experience as a married person and as a parent in evaluating the desirability of birth control. In any case, defense of birth control easily slides over into justification of family limitation, which is not the same thing. The former means planning to have children when and if they are wanted; the latter refers solely to restrictions of numbers. In the presentation of the subject of birth control it may be shown that the more educated classes have reduced their birth rates drastically and that, as the less resourceful groups obtain the necessary knowledge, they too will follow in the same direction. Thus, family limitation is presented as the *intelligent* course for parents. In this manner the bearing and rearing of children is interpreted, at least by implication. To those indoctrinated with this point of view, family limitation seems to be the way out of many difficulties.

By taking a stand with those who are participating in the crusade for the extension of birth control, the sociologist lays himself open to justifiable criticism. Is nothing to be said about the modification of those environmental conditions that lead people to practice limitation of offspring? Must families sacrifice their level of living in order to have several children? Must parents be "tied down"? Innumerable reforms can be brought about whereby the outlook for parenthood will be brightened. Among these are economic expansion, subsidies of goods and services essential for child development, maternity leaves with pay for married women, greater public provision for

medical care and education, part-time employment for married women, and part-time care of children outside the home.<sup>2</sup> Parental desires are not fixed and unalterable. Under conditions more conducive to parenthood, the desire for children will increase and higher birth rates will result. As stated above, birth control is not synonymous with birth restriction—one may believe in contraception and have ten children. The crucial question relates to this: how many children can parents rationally plan to have under conditions existent in the community, nation and world? Advocacy of birth control need not involve diminution of family values but sociological interpretation must be adequately oriented if confusion and misinterpretation are to be avoided.

## VII

It appears that interpretation of the relations between men and women in America frequently reflects a feminine bias. In their struggle for social and economic equality, women can count upon the support of the sociologists, as a rule. Here again it seems that we have been guilty of partisanship: we have been drawn into the crusade for women's rights, forsaking the scientific role. Thus, phenomena such as the size of the family may be considered largely, if not altogether, from the woman's point of view when the whole question affects the husband's life in many ways. His vocational career is affected as well as level of living, mobility, recreation and his relations to his wife. Again, it is common to describe many of the problems of married women in terms of cultural lags in our family system. But what about the married man? His problems of home and office often get short shrift, although many lags can be identified on his side too.

It is true, of course, that the status of women has been affected greatly by the changes in the modern world. Yet this does not seem sufficient to explain the feminine bias. Part of the emphasis upon women's

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise Kiser, *Foundations of American Population Policy*, Harper and Brothers, 1940.

rights undoubtedly represents a reaction against the patriarchal mores. At the same time, another cultural attitude seems to be involved, an attitude perhaps emergent from a family system where the mother dominates the rearing of children. This conditioning of personality is supplemented by the school, which is preponderantly feminine in the early grades. On the other hand, American men have been preoccupied with economic competition—too busy to "bother" with family affairs. Consequently, they have been disposed to a tolerant acceptance of the woman's interpretation of her problems. Among the better educated groups she has had more time to think about these issues, while he has been too busy to develop any basic understanding of family relations that affect him vitally. This evasiveness of the inarticulate male with regard to love and the family seems to have intellectual repercussions in sociological interpretation.

### VIII

Some of the valuations or biases hidden away in the interpretation of sexual and family relationships have been set forth briefly in the preceding pages. In general, it is our position that a good deal of the difficulty lies in the ideological tendencies of much that passes for sociological theory. Frequently one finds social scientists paying lip service to objectivity while waging ideological warfare. Each age seems to have its own pretenses. In a day when religious virtues were valued, men wished to appear godly. Similarly, in an age of science, many hold opinions which they fondly consider to be "objective." Professional students of society may give vent to all sorts of partisan views about current affairs while they delude themselves about devotion to the ideals of science. Such inconsistency readily invites hostile criticism from intelligent laymen.

This ideological thinking of the sociologist may represent a rebellion against the traditional or the contemporary mores. Whatever the socio-psychological genesis of this frame of mind, its development at the professional level is partly explicable in terms of the dialectical process. Noting that the

mores contain irrationalities, gross generalizations and many other illogical elements, one may easily fall prey to the unwarranted conclusion that diametrically opposed beliefs will be rational, logical, scientific. If the mores are looked upon as the thesis, then this type of naive sociology becomes the antithesis. Such a full-fledged polarity does not emerge all at once, to be sure. It results from a process of interaction involving numerous discussions, arguments, and many other experiences and observations. As this process takes place, emotionalism may be generated on both sides. Only a disciplined mind can steer successfully between the Scylla of conventional irrationality and the Charybdis of unconventional irrationality.

Ideological thinking antithetical to the mores may be considered "progressive" by its adherents. Progressivism is here defined as a social-philosophical orientation which tends to approve those social movements and trends that diminish the influence of the traditional sexual and family mores. Thus, opposition to the patriarchal system and the stringent sexual taboos may be so strong that counteracting tendencies seem highly desirable, even though careful consideration has not been given to the various ramifications of the desired trend. It is analogous to the mental process whereby one votes *against* a political opponent rather than *for* one's own candidate. Concentration upon the goal of defeating the opponent may occupy consciousness so completely that little or no attention is paid to the merits of the candidate to be supported.

In addition to these general considerations, it can be seen that specific ideological elements or "value premises" (to use Myrdal's concept) are hidden in each of the issues taken up in the preceding pages. The treatment of sex implies that the sociologist views the elimination of traditional inhibitions as desirable in so far as this represents part of the liberal movement to increase individual freedom. The interpretation of birth control reflects an individualistic philosophy, according to which each family must try to cope with the environment as given. Other hidden biases spring from a

concern for the welfare of children. This concern receives the approval of practically all groups in our society. The influence of the woman's movement upon social thought is manifested also. In the interpretation of the family, especially as it affects women and children, American sociologists are likely to express a democratic rather than a patriarchal philosophy.<sup>3</sup> The main conclusion to be drawn from all this is that objectivity would be greatly enhanced if there were explicit formulation of ideological attachments instead of implicit valuations covered over by a deceptive terminology.<sup>4</sup>

## IX

Yet the presence of hidden valuations in sociological interpretation is not to be explained entirely by these tendencies. A more adequately oriented sociology of the family is not the panacea that it may appear to be. In the first place, one may be objective and selective at the same time. As suggested above, the original selection of "problems" gives a definite slant to the ma-

<sup>3</sup>The explicit formulation of value premises implicit in the interpretation of the family does not mean that such valuations are invalid or that the present writer is in disagreement with them. The issue at stake is whether valuations shall be hidden or explicit.

<sup>4</sup>"In other words, we are making a plea for explicit value premises. We are also making a plea for unbiased research. The relation between these two desiderata is this, that it is the hidden valuations which give entrance to biases in social science." Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 1057.

terial. Over and beyond this, however, it should be emphasized that facts themselves can influence attitudes and behavior. This is fact propaganda. What, for instance, are the various effects upon youthful attitudes and behavior of learning that a number of studies give evidence of an increase in pre-marital sexual relations? Prior to investigation no positive answer can be made, of course, but it is naive to evade the issue. Similarly, what is the effect upon the young of detailed contraceptive knowledge gained from reputable sources? Here is a blending of science and propaganda. Objective discussion about sexual experimentation may lead to—sexual experimentation. The sociologist cannot afford to expend all of his energy in ridiculing the shocked moralist. The dogmatic moralist need not be taken seriously but nonetheless there is moral significance to these facts. Especially in the case of sexual and family relationships we are dealing with phenomena of profound emotional value. Hardly an important fact in these areas can be communicated that does not involve valuations. Therefore, even though bias is eliminated, scientific material may have implications for personal conduct. Perhaps a spirit of humility, always desirable in teaching and research, may be demanded here to an extraordinary degree. Certainly no bull-in-the-china-shop approach will do. As sociologists we are participating in the formation of human character and, while evasions and distortions of fact cannot be countenanced, it is desirable to be fully aware of the implications of our data.

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## NOTES TOWARD A SOCIOCULTURAL INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY

KURT H. WOLFF

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THE purpose of this paper is to develop some suggestions regarding the sociocultural interpretation of American sociology.<sup>1</sup>

### I. IMMANENT AND SOCIOCULTURAL INTERPRETATION

The concept of sociocultural interpretation is clarified when contrasted with that of immanent interpretation.<sup>2</sup> The two types of interpretation may be briefly defined as follows: (1) Immanent interpretation includes the logical examination of thought and the examination of the attitudinal structure<sup>3</sup> of the thinker; (2) Sociocultural interpretation consists in the development of hypotheses which serve to explain the results of the immanent interpretation in sociocultural terms, i.e., with reference to such sociocultural phenomena as suggest themselves for fruitful examination—"social background" of the author of the work considered; classes, power distribution, and other structural aspects of the society concerned; attitudes, beliefs, values, knowledges of the author's and of related cultures, etc.

An example may clarify practical applications. If I wanted to interpret a book by Arthur Koestler, I would examine its implicational and attitudinal structure (im-

<sup>1</sup> I express gratitude to John W. Bennett, John F. Cuber, Paul K. Hatt, and Cecil C. North for important criticisms and suggestions which I tried, no doubt succeeding inadequately, to incorporate into the present paper.

<sup>2</sup> The first formulator of the difference between the two types of interpretation—under the names of "sociological" and "ideological," respectively—was Karl Mannheim ("Ideologische und soziologische Interpretation der geistigen Gebilde," *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, 2: 424-440, 1926).

<sup>3</sup> The term is borrowed from Arthur Child, *The Problems of the Sociology of Knowledge*, Berkeley: University of California (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), 1938, Ch. III.

manent interpretation), I would try to understand the book better by relating the results of the immanent interpretation to the results of my investigation of the author's life history in terms of affiliations, contacts, etc., and I would try to establish the relations between Koestler's culture, i.e., his attitudes, beliefs, values, knowledges, which have to be ascertained, and the cultures of various groups showing similar and dissimilar cultures—e.g., "liberals," "frustrated liberals," "ex-Communists," "intelligentsia," "uprooted intellectuals," and similar (sociocultural interpretation).<sup>4</sup>

### II. AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY AS AN ORIENTATION OR CULTURE

For the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to define "American sociology," although it is recognized that if more than some suggestions for an interpretation of American sociology were intended, such a definition would be of prime importance. It is further recognized that this definition would raise the difficult question of the classification and analysis of American sociology as an intellectual product and/or process. In the present context, however, any referent of "American sociology" which the reader may have in mind will suffice. And what follows will itself raise questions regarding some characteristics of American

<sup>4</sup> This theory of interpretations—such brief indication must suffice here—is based on G. H. Mead's social-behavioristic theory of mind as applied to the sociology of knowledge by Child ("The Theoretical Possibility of the Sociology of Knowledge," *Ethics*, 51: 392-418, Jl 1941, esp. 416-418), and more specifically on Child's discussion of "immanent" and "transcendent" interpretation (*The Problems of the Sociology of Knowledge*, l. c., Ch. VII). (For a related approach, also drawing on Mead, see C. Wright Mills, "Language, Logic, and Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 4: 670-680, O 1939.)

sociology and thus, indirectly, questions regarding its definition.

It is proposed to consider American sociology not exclusively as a science or as a discipline striving to become scientific (which it, too, is assumed to be) but as an orientation, an outlook, a *Weltanschauung*, a culture. Although so far as I know this has not been explicitly done before, implications of several well-known considerations of American sociology can easily be drawn and thus are apt to make the proposal plausible. I will call attention to three types of such considerations—the relations between values and research; changing contents of sociology; and sociological publication.

(1) It is probably generally recognized by sociologists (as well as by other scientists) that valuations enter into research—whether “valuation” be taken in Myrdal’s sense of “ideas about how . . . [reality] ought to be,”<sup>5</sup> or in Dewey’s more general sense of “appraising,”<sup>6</sup> or in other current and acceptable significations. Sociologists will presumably agree, too, with the propositions that values, on one hand, are “operating in the determination of what is significant for research,” and, on the other, can “themselves . . . be the object of research.”<sup>7</sup> And they will concur also, I believe, with the thesis that science itself is a value or “the expression and the fulfilment of a special human desire and interest,”<sup>8</sup> although this recognition is perhaps often prevented from entering their awareness by the emphasis on the objective and non-evaluative character of science, including sociology.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York and London: Harper, 1944, p. 1027.

<sup>6</sup> John Dewey, *Theory of Valuation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press [International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Vol. II, No. 4], 1939, passim and esp. p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Gwynne Nettler, “A Note on Myrdal’s ‘Notes [sic] on Facts and Valuations,’ Appendix 2 of *An American Dilemma*,” *American Sociological Review*, 9: 688, D 1944.

<sup>8</sup> Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>9</sup> That is, presumably all scientists would agree that science is, or strives to be, objective and value-

Finally, it is surely undisputed that objectivity itself is a value and entails other values. A good current definition of objectivity presumably is that given by Hagood: objectivity is “a characteristic of results measured by the degree of agreement which there would be between these results and the results obtained by observation of the same phenomena by any other trained observer.”<sup>10</sup> Or, in Lundberg’s words: “When an observer communicates his observations so that others can corroborate his reports, we call such data objective.”<sup>11</sup> Both quotations, to be sure, refer to the objectivity of *data*, but it is probably legitimate to infer that the scientist’s objectivity would consist in gathering objective data. And furthermore, in doing so, he is aided by the exclusion, or at least awareness, of the “personal equation.”<sup>12</sup> Lastly, it should be noted that “objectivity” makes for a specific behavioral or personality or role type: “As a human being,” Lundberg says, “the scientist may properly look to the social results of his conclusions. . . . But as a scientist his only ethical responsibility lies in seeing that the rules of scientific procedure have been complied with.”<sup>13</sup>

Since these propositions, then, are state-

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free but that it itself represents a value (whatever aspects of the implications of “value” they would single out), if the two propositions were put before them in juxtaposition, as is here done; but their juxtaposition is probably not as much a part of current conceptions of science and its role as is each proposition separately, and the first more so than the second.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists*, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941, p. 202.

<sup>11</sup> George A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, New York, etc.: Longmans, Green, 1942 (2nd ed.), p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1930, pp. 134-135.

<sup>13</sup> Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 53.—The explicit formulation of this split between “scientist” and “human being” or “citizen” is at least as old as Max Weber’s *Wissenschaft als Beruf* (1918); see its translation, as *Science as a Vocation*, by Edward A. Shils (Reading XXII in *Third-Year Course in the Study of Contemporary Society, Selected Readings*, Chicago: University of Chicago Bookstore, 10th ed., 1942), esp. pp. 24-25.

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ments about values, it is logically permissible to conclude that to the extent that these values are held in common by sociologists they are part of their culture.<sup>14</sup> Some of them, to be sure, are part of the "culture of science" in general. Nor is it important to insist on the term, "value," for even if it is preferred to call these ideas "beliefs," "theses," "tenets," or stimuli toward which sociologists respond with similar attitudes, they are still part of their culture because they are something sociologists have learned in the process of training for their profession. And there should be no quarrel, either, over the statement that both science in general and sociology in particular are part of American (as well as of other) culture (although an elaboration of this proposition would require a more precise definition of "part").

(2) Another consideration of American sociology which points to its character as an orientation or outlook has to do with its contentual aspects, as witness both the attempts to assemble contentual "principles" on which American sociologists can agree<sup>15</sup> and to gather contents once adhered to but subsequently discarded.<sup>16</sup>

(3) Finally, a third angle on the cultural determination and hence the cultural character of sociology is suggested by a passage toward the end of Cuber's article, where the author points out that if his or similarly formulated principles could indeed be agreed upon, they would be apt to "demonstrate that there does exist an integrated 'body of knowledge' called sociology . . . which will give some idea to intelligent persons

<sup>14</sup> According to whatever definition of culture be preferred—e.g., Tylor's, Albert Blumenthal's, Read Bain's, those discussed in Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture" (in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 78-106), or others.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. John F. Cuber, "Are There 'Principles' of Sociology?" *American Sociological Review*, 6: 370-372, Je 1941.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Howard W. Odum, "The Errors of Sociology," *Social Forces*, 15: 327-342, Mr 1937, and Earle Edward Eubank, "Errors of Sociology," *ibid.*, 16: 178-201, D 1937.

concerning just what it is that we do agree upon."<sup>17</sup> This passage may serve, simply, as a reminder of the sociologist's consciousness of public relations—as a teacher, researcher,<sup>18</sup> and often as a writer. A brief consideration of him in this latter capacity—i.e., in that capacity which among the three just mentioned, comes closest to his role as a scientist—shows that extra-scientific, extra-objective factors enter into his work, not only when he thinks about publishing a certain book or paper—and where, in what form, with what emphases, for what public—but also when contemplating writing itself with reference to the possibility of its publication. In other words, both the *selection* of fields and topics of research and the nature, character, frame of reference, in brief, the *constitution*,<sup>19</sup> of his work are co-determined by consideration of publication. (Needless to say, this goes for the present paper, too.)

This brief look at values, contents, and public relations, as characteristic of the culture and society of the sociologist and therefore of sociology, should at least have made plausible the contention that sociology, in addition to being a science, is also an outlook, orientation, or culture. Or, that sociology is determined, on one hand, by logical and intra-scientific factors and, on the other, by sociocultural factors (both "acting" through the individual—perhaps via idiosyncrasies<sup>20</sup> or the "basic personality structure"

<sup>17</sup> Cuber, *op. cit.*, 372.—For an explicit public-relations document, a plea for "recognition" of the social sciences, see Leo P. Crespi, "Social Science—a Stepchild," *A. A. U. P. Bulletin*, 31: 189-196, Summer 1945.

<sup>18</sup> For a description of the sociologist as a government-employed wartime researcher and the effect of this role upon his research, see, e.g., Julian L. Woodward, "Making Government Opinion Research Bear Upon Operations," *American Sociological Review*, 9: 670-677, D 1944.

<sup>19</sup> The conception of the selective and constitutive character of social determination, which has had some significance in the German sociology of knowledge and which has been incorporated into the definition of immanent interpretation given above, is best presented in Child, *The Problems of the Sociology of Knowledge*, *l. c.*, esp. pp. 286-287.

<sup>20</sup> In the sense of Clyde Kluckhohn and O. H. Maurer, "Culture and Personality": A Conceptual

and "character structure.")<sup>21</sup>

If we now remember the definitions of immanent and sociocultural interpretation given above, we can see more clearly how we should have to proceed in trying to apply these interpretations to the work of an American sociologist. To repeat more briefly, we should try to ascertain the logical and intra-scientific and the sociocultural elements in his work. A few examples of hunches regarding the latter will now be given—hunches, that is, of how sociocultural factors are operative in the scientific work of sociologists; *not* as they influence the sociologist as a teacher or citizen.

### III. EXAMPLES OF TRAITS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY AS A CULTURE

The examples will refer to only two aspects of American sociology—the question of its attitude toward the *status quo*, and the problem of its selective character.

(1) Can one speak of an attitude of American sociology toward the *status quo*? It is submitted that the agreement on sociology as the study of what *is*—an agreement necessarily following from the tenets of science—has nevertheless far-reaching attitudinal implications which in turn have their influence upon the selection and the constitution of research. Three examples in support of this thesis will be given.

(a) Regarding social change, Mills, on the basis of his study of social-pathology texts, found at least strong evidence of the preference of slow to fast change—"the slow, 'evolutionary' pace of change is taken explicitly as normal and organized, whereas 'discontinuity' is taken as problematic"<sup>22</sup>—a preference which implies another preference, namely, for amelioration of the *status quo* as over viewing the *status quo* itself as

Scheme," *American Anthropologist*, 46: 4, Ja-Mr 1944.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Abram Kardiner, "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences," in Linton, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 107-122.

<sup>22</sup> C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49: 178a, S 1943.

problematical. The social pathologists, Mills writes, "do not typically consider whether or not certain groups or individuals caught in economically underprivileged situations can possibly obtain the current goals without drastic shifts in the basic institutions which channel and promote them."<sup>23</sup> Finally, the connotations of the concept of adjustment—itself highly specific in its attitudinal implications—are very selective. "The ideally adjusted man of the social pathologists is 'socialized.' This term sees to operate ethically as the opposite of 'selfish'; it implies that the adjusted man conforms to middle-class morality and motives and 'participates' in the gradual progress of respectable institutions."<sup>24</sup>

It may be objected that the examples given refer not to scientific writings but to textbooks whose writers, even consciously, compromise with several extra-scientific pressures—the public, the publishers, educational organizations, etc. It is submitted, however, that it is not these forces which make for the character of the texts examined by Mills, but far subtler influences (namely, such as Mills suggests). This assertion cannot be demonstrated; to do so would necessitate an examination of "scientific" writings of the textbook authors; but it would seem probable that features similar to those characterizing their texts also characterize their scientific writings.

(b) Regarding social stratification, especially the problem of Negro-White relations, W. Lloyd Warner's caste-theory of the Negro in the U.S. South is instructive. As far as I know, this theory, divulged almost ten years ago,<sup>25</sup> was not critically examined in published form for six years,<sup>26</sup> when

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 179b.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 180a.

<sup>25</sup> W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 234-237, S 1936.

<sup>26</sup> Here it may be objected that the reason why Warner's theory was not criticized was not that it was accepted but that it was considered outside the field of sociology inasmuch as Warner is perhaps better known as an anthropologist than a sociologist (although the theory appeared in the foremost American sociological periodical). If this should be the case, it would throw into relief another extra-

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Oliver C. Cox wrote a critique of it.<sup>27</sup> Rather, it has been taken over by at least one widely adopted introductory sociology text.<sup>28</sup> The important point for our purposes is not to examine the shortcomings of Warner's (and Cox') theory but to stress the fact that Cox has demonstrated one questionable feature of Warner's theory, and to ask why this had not been noted before (or hardly since, for that matter). This feature is Warner's failure to take into consideration the fact that a caste system is characterized, also, by its being accepted by the members of all castes, a situation which clearly does not obtain in the present-day South. "Caste barriers in the caste system are never challenged; they are sacred to caste and caste alike."<sup>29</sup> The use of the term, "caste," to

scientific factor influencing sociology, namely, intra-social-science factions and feelings—a lead (even if the present case should be off the mark) well worth pursuing.

<sup>27</sup> Oliver C. Cox, "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations," *Social Forces*, 21: 218-226, D 1942. See also his further elaborations in "Race Relations," *Journal of Negro Education*, 12: 144-153, Spring 1943; "Class and Caste: A Definition and a Distinction," *ibid.*, 13: 139-149, Spring 1944; "The Racial Theories of Robert E. Park and Ruth Benedict," *ibid.*, 13: 452-463, Fall 1944; "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 360-368, Mr 1945; "Estates, Social Classes, and Political Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 464-466, Ag 1945.

<sup>28</sup> Ogburn and Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Houghton Mifflin, 1940), pp. 323-324. (It would be difficult to imagine that it is textbook considerations, such as suggested above, which are responsible for the inclusion of Warner's theory.)—Perhaps best known among works utilizing Warner's theory—but not written by sociologists—are John Dollard (*Caste and Class in a Southern Town*), and Davis Gardner (*Deep South*). For other titles, see Cox, "The Modern Caste School . . .," *l. c.*, 218a, n. 1. Myrdal's *Dilemma*, *l. c.*, too, is informed by Warner's schema: see *passim* and esp. Ch. 31.

<sup>29</sup> Cox, "The Modern Caste School . . .," *l. c.*, 222a. This is precisely the characteristic of feudal society, was largely true of the ante-bellum South, and is still found in the stratification of aristocracy vs. peasants or servants, and even of middle-class vs. servants, in most of Europe, at least up to World War II. See, e.g., some of Henry James's novels, or the film *Mrs. Miniver* (i.e., its depiction of the "breakdown" of caste); *in this respect* (only), these are examples of caste; whether other features make some of them examples of, rather, class need

refer to Negroes and Whites has a reassuring connotation—although I am far from imputing, to the founder of the "school," the *intention* to spread such soothing news—namely, that the Negroes just *are* an inferior caste. I am only suggesting that racial prejudice and discrimination have been structuralized into more or less static features of the *status quo* social system.<sup>30</sup> The attitude sketched by this suggestion is reminiscent of that of the White Southerner who customarily simply denies the existence of a "Negro problem," because the relations between the two races "a long time ago . . . had been stratified into 'folkways and mores,' known and respected by both races and taken for granted, or rather as self-evident, in view of the inferior endowments of the African race and the superior qualities of the Anglo-Saxon master race."<sup>31</sup>

(c) "Folkways" and "mores," in their universal and generally uncritical<sup>32</sup> use, are probably indicative of an unfavorable attitude toward induced change and of a *laissez-faire* attitude in general. Myrdal, in the first two appendices to the *Dilemma*, calls attention to this. Only one point may be mentioned here. Speaking of Robert E. Park, Myrdal writes:

Not observing much in the way of conscious

not be discussed here (cf. Cox, "Class and Caste . . .," *l. c.*). On India, see, e.g., Mason Olcott, "The Caste System of India," *American Sociological Review*, 9: 648-657, D 1944.

<sup>30</sup> Norman D. Humphrey ("American Race Relations and the Caste System," *Psychiatry*, 8: 380a-b, N 1945), in a critique of Cox, points out that the American caste system is breaking down but is for this no less a caste system. The question is, what kind of system or social structure will follow its complete breakdown—a question not raised by Humphrey but exemplifying a perspective other than that of friendliness toward the *status quo* (though probably similarly biased). This consideration shows the difficulty of "objectivity" in front of certain situations—of which more below.

<sup>31</sup> Myrdal's paraphrase of statements by "an elderly, very distinguished doctor" in the South: "Explorations in Escape," in *An American Dilemma*, *l. c.*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> One might suggest that not only the use shows extra-scientific influences but that the unclear definitions of the terms, especially as to their distinction, hint at such influences.

and organized planning in his contemporary America except that which was bungling and ineffective because it did not take due account of the natural forces, he built up a sociological system in terms of "natural" causation and sequence. . . . we . . . find [in Park's writing] . . . a systematic tendency to ignore practically all possibilities of modifying-by conscious effort—the social effects of the natural forces.<sup>33</sup>

Here, again, an objection could be raised, namely, that Park (and most of the other sociologists Myrdal discusses) are no longer representative, in their attitude toward the *status quo*, of American sociology. The question then is, who is? Those who, in the name of modern "scientific sociology," are perhaps most likely to raise this objection would probably say that the neopositivists—Lundberg, Bain, Dodd, and others—represent American sociology today. If they do, the remarks about Lundberg which will follow are all the more significant.

These examples must suffice, although others, likewise bearing on the attitude toward the *status quo*, could probably be produced. One might examine whether a case could be made for the existence of sentimental, hence extra-scientific and presumably socio-culturally determined elements in Redfield's folk-urban<sup>34</sup> and in Becker's sacred-secular theories, in the differential treatment accorded the country and the city,<sup>35</sup> or in the ecological concept

<sup>33</sup> Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1040-1050. I do not find Nettler's critique (*op. cit.*) of Myrdal's critique a proof that Sumner, Park, and Ogburn do not exhibit an attitude favorable to *laissez-faire* (although his statement has other merits).—On *Folkways*, in the context of our discussion, see also Frank E. Hartung, "The Social Function of Positivism," *Philosophy of Science*, 12: 131-133, Ap 1945.

<sup>34</sup> It is true, of course, that Redfield is a cultural anthropologist, not a sociologist, but his theory is widely known and also used by sociologists.

<sup>35</sup> Whereas rural life in the United States has for a long time been a subject of considerable interest on the part of governmental bureaus, the most notable case of a comprehensive report being that submitted by the Country Life Commission to President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909, it is worthy of note that no equally comprehensive official inquiry into urban life was undertaken until . . . 1937: Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 3n., 1938.—It has

of "natural" area." Important topics of research would also be the relative absence of the analysis of power in our society;<sup>36</sup> the investigation of the theoretical foundations of the field of "human relations in industry"; and a study of the influence of mass-research tools, such as Hollerith and other machines, upon both the selection and constitution of research.

(2) Only one more suggestion will be made bearing upon a further characteristic of American sociology—this time, a negative characteristic: the absence of the recognition of a trait of man to which other cultures and disciplines have given a paramount place—that trait which may be called man's greatness or meanness, or his tragic aspect; in fact, the whole field of the "spiritual," and especially spiritual suffering.<sup>37</sup> There is, theoretically, no reason why this should not become the topic of sociological investigation.<sup>38</sup> But it would seem that while (as our

been remarked that much of urban and rural sociology is permeated by the idea of the rural community being better than the city and of the city being a kind of deviation from good old days. Perhaps some truth in this suggestion could be demonstrated.

<sup>36</sup> See, however, the work of Robert S. Lynd (esp. *Middletown in Transition*, Ch. III; *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930, esp. pp. 74-79; and his preface to R. A. Brady, *Business as a System of Power*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), as well as some recent sociological papers using the concept of power as here envisaged—Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy and the Problem of Power," *Public Administration Review*, 5: 194-200, Summer 1945, and Robert K. Merton, "Role of the Intellectual in Public Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, 23: 405-415, My 1945. See also C. Wright Mills, "The Powerless People: The Social Rôle of the Intellectual," *A.A.U.P. Bulletin*, 31: 231-243, Summer 1945 (originally in *Politics*, 1: 66-72, Ap 1944).

<sup>37</sup> E.g., it would be extraordinary for a sociologist to say—or to investigate people who say such things—what the philosopher Karl Jaspers said: "That we are still alive is our guilt." (See *Politics*, 3: 53a, F 1946.) Or, see Ellsworth Faris on Kierkegaard (*American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 401-404, Mr 1945).

<sup>38</sup> The absence is greater in the positivistic branch of American sociology than in the "understanding" branch represented by such sociologists as MacIver, Znaniecki, and Parsons. (For an impressive embodiment of the contrast between the two "branches,"

examples so far suggest) a hypothesis to the effect that such attitudes and conceptions as "middle-class morality and motives," "head-in-the-sand politics," and "subservience to power" play a role in informing American sociological thought is a worthwhile hypothesis, the hypothesis that man's tragic nature informs it similarly does not seem capable of demonstration. I am not suggesting that the focus upon man's tragic nature ought to inform American sociology as one of its conceptions, but only that in so far as it does not, American sociology, for reasons which a sociocultural interpretation might reveal, is not objective in its orientation because overlooking one side of man which to at least some "trained observers" is important; that, to the extent that it tries, consciously or "just by growth," to provide "that unified and coherent theory which men have always craved,"<sup>39</sup> it plans or develops a set of attitudes, beliefs, values, knowledges—a culture—which is as distinct as any other.<sup>40</sup>

The definitions of two highly emotionally charged concepts—"power" and "freedom"—will serve as illustrations. Both concepts have found definitions which are as objective as one could desire; i.e., their definitions can be applied to all or at least a great many situations which one might want to characterize in their terms. Power, Lundberg says, is the "time-rate of doing work."<sup>41</sup> It needs little imagination to see

see Lundberg's and Znaniecki's papers in the Semi-centennial Issue of *The American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 502-513, 514-521, May 1945.) See, e.g., Lundberg's Presidential Address, "Sociologists and the Peace," *American Sociological Review*, 9: 1-13, esp. 3, n. 2, F 1944; Arthur Evans Wood's reaction to it (*ibid.*, 319-320, Je 1944); and Lundberg's rejoinder (*ibid.*, 435-436, Ag 1944).

<sup>39</sup> George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology*, New York: Macmillan, 1939, p. 534.

<sup>40</sup> In this connection, the recent appearance of the revival, in explicitly value-charged terms, of Sapir's distinction between "genuine" and "spurious" cultures might be a symptom of greater "cultural self-awareness" on the part of some American sociologists: Melvin Tumin, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious: A Re-Evaluation," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 199-207, Ap 1945, esp. 207a-b.

<sup>41</sup> Lundberg, *Foundations . . . l. c.*, p. 236. (See also pp. 471-472.)

that this definition can be applied to analyze the power of the X family in Middletown, of the Nazis in Germany, of an American politician, etc. The important point is that, however objective, it seems to have attitudinal implications which make it unlikely that the study of power in the sense suggested above and exemplified in the examples quoted in note 36 be stimulated by it; it certainly is not mentioned in these examples, nor is it probable that it has given rise to them.

Similarly with Lundberg's definition of "freedom."

Actually, the term ["freedom"] is used to designate that feeling-tone which an individual experiences when his habits are relatively in accord with the restrictions of his environment. In short, men are free when they feel free. They feel free when they are thoroughly habituated to their way of life. It follows that within the limits of human conditioning, the feeling of freedom is compatible with an almost unlimited variety of social conditions.<sup>42</sup>

Again, this definition is bare of any historically colored connotations of "for," "from," and "of," and hence applicable to the consideration of the freedom, or unfreedom, of, e.g., Americans in the U.S., or Jews in Nazi Germany. But, like the objective definition of "power," it seems not to have made for studies of freedom or the lack of it.<sup>43</sup>

It should be noted that these examples—showing non-objective aspects of American sociology, as well as concepts which seem

<sup>42</sup> Lundberg, "Sociologists and the Peace," *l. c.*, 4b. (Cf. also *Foundations . . . l. c.*, pp. 405-406.)—On the basis of Lundberg's definition of freedom and of other statements of his, Hartung concludes that "Lundberg's positivism ultimately prepares an attitude favorable to fascism" (Frank E. Hartung, "The Sociology of Positivism," *Science and Society*, 8: 340, Fall 1944), and thus goes considerably further than I do in imputing "attitudinal implications." I do not find Hartung's particular argument convincing, however.

<sup>43</sup> For a similar case of a controversy over the "objective definition of the situation," see Lundberg vs. MacIver on "fear" and "hate." Cf. MacIver, *Society*, *l. c.*, pp. 476-477; Lundberg, *Foundations . . . l. c.*, pp. 12-13; and MacIver, *Social Causation*, Boston, etc.: Ginn, 1942, pp. 299-300.

to approach the limit of objectivity possible in our present universe of discourse but which seem to make, also, for selective attitudes—raise the question of objectivity itself (a question hinted at before; cf. n. 30). More precisely, part of this question appears to be the problem of the thought model of various conceptions of objectivity—the most widely adopted one is certainly patterned after the natural sciences. And it is possible to investigate implications of this model, or such models, in order to ascertain the socioculturally selective<sup>44</sup> character of "objectivity." This investigation might benefit if it were asked to what "demands" the various concepts of objectivity are "socially responsive."<sup>45</sup>

#### IV. METHODOLOGICAL CONCLUSION

(1) Operations Performed. In the foregoing parts of the present paper an attempt has been made to do three things. In Part I, to allude to a theory of interpreting intellectual-emotional phenomena. In Part II, (a) to point out in what sense it might be legitimate, for purposes of this theory, to consider American sociology as a phenomenon to which such interpretation could be applied by trying (b) to show that existent types of considerations of science and sociology imply a view of sociology as not merely a science but as, also, an orientation or culture—considerations of the relations between value and research, of changing contents of sociology, and of its public relations. In Part III, to suggest (a) the co-determination of certain concepts in certain fields by aspects of American—or a wider or narrower or overlapping—culture, (b) the absence, from the "ongoing" subject matter and awareness

<sup>44</sup> In contrast with, and in addition to, the selective character of any concept. (Cf. Robert K. Merton, "Sociological Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 465a, My 1945.)

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Thelma Z. Lavine, "Naturalism and the Sociological Analysis of Knowledge," in Yervant H. Krikorian, ed., *Naturalism and the Human Spirit*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 198-200.—The problem whether science "as such" can be objective "as such" involves questions of the nature of logic and can be answered only on the basis of a theory of science—which cannot and need not be discussed here.

of American sociology, of a characteristic of man and of human relations, and some implications of this absence (the selective nature of the concept of objectivity itself as a possible key whence to examine more systematically the culture of American sociology). In other words, in Part III beginnings of a sociocultural interpretation of American sociology have been shown.

(2) Inadequacies of the Operations Performed. (a) The principles of selecting the features of American sociology in which its sociocultural determination is believed to be especially visible have not been stated; obviously these principles are somehow related to the fact of the recent appearance of writings which present piecemeal criticisms of American sociology (Mills, Myrdal, Hartung, etc.); thus, at least (and methodologically at the most modest), one of the common features of these writings have been shown and utilized within the framework suggested by the theory of interpretation. (b) "American sociology" has not been defined. More especially, the question of the "representativeness" of the writings, concepts, ideas, etc., used as examples has not been raised, much less answered. For purposes of this paper, however, it is sufficient that these examples, according to the knowledge common among American sociologists, embody attitudes which are at least widely held among them; but if this common knowledge has been misjudged, the examples are irrelevant (which would not, however, destroy the suggestive value of the theory itself). More probably, in fact, some readers will agree, others will partly, and still others completely, disagree with the choice of the examples.<sup>46</sup>

(3) Operations Needed and Suggestions of Their Implementation. (a) A definition of American sociology for the purposes of

<sup>46</sup> Some disagreements I have tried to anticipate and eliminate. But it is perhaps more difficult to show sociocultural influences at work in whole complexes of concepts and attitudes, as was done here, than it would be to trace them by minute study of more specific sociological productions, somewhat similar, e.g., to the manner Mills used in his study of social-pathology texts.

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its sociocultural interpretation is paramount. Such a definition may be arrived at through a questionnaire designed to test previously formulated hypotheses regarding the nature of American sociology; through an analysis to be worked out, of books, magazines, magazine contents, courses, and course contents in sociology; or through other approaches. (b) If such a definition of American sociology is established, it will serve to interpret American sociology immanently (according to the definition of immanent interpretation given above) by methods largely articulated in the course of the work done in order to decide on the definition, thereby discovering such aspects as suggest (c) the sociocultural interpretation of American sociology which in turn may lead to, or even necessitate, a definition of that culture which is found to be operative in it. (Even the few notes presented in this paper suggest, as has been alluded to before, that this will be not only "American culture," but will also contain elements of the "culture of science" in general, of "Western civilization," of the "Christian tradition," and probably of others.)

(4) Functions of the Study Suggested. (a) The projected sociocultural interpretation of American sociology will serve to test the theory of interpretation the core of which has been presented. (b) It will help to develop a general theory of the sociology of knowledge (in progress), of which the theory of interpretation is a part. (c) It may make for a greater "self-awareness" of American sociology by showing its empirically undemonstrable, socioculturally determined aspects, thus, on one hand, incidentally clarifying the theory of the "cultural approach,"<sup>47</sup> and, on the other, suggesting attitudinal changes on the part of American sociologists such as may result, e.g., in a greater understanding of their and other cultures, in a more defensible evaluation of science and culture and their respective roles, in a clarification of the relation between "science" and "applied science,"

etc. (d) It may help to bring out and perhaps, explain differences of various kinds between American sociology and sociologies of other countries or their absence, as well as differences in the history, institutionalization, etc., of American sociology according to regions—e.g., New England as over the Middle West.

(5) Related Studies. (a) From the last suggestion rises the possibility or plausibility of a related study, namely, the development of a set of hypotheses regarding the nature of American sociology as compared with the sociology of another country,<sup>48</sup> without the necessity of as detailed a study as the definition of immanent interpretation implies, and with the related purpose (which can be less conclusively reached than by way of an intensive immanent interpretation) of arriving at the ascertainment of sociocultural forces. (b) A point of attack of the original study envisaged could be, or might have to be, the study of behavior and role types of American sociologists as co-determined by their being engaged in their particular profession. Znaniecki's social roles of men of knowledge—technologists, sages, scholars, and explorers<sup>49</sup>—plus the types, at least, of the politician, promoter, and administrator in sociology, could serve as a start leading to an investigation of the "social backgrounds" ("biographies") of American sociologists (probably necessitated already under No. 3b and/or No. 3a above) and, perhaps also, to the investigation of the differential distribution of such types in other fields (perhaps necessitated already under No. 3a and/or No. 3c above).

<sup>47</sup> Among the numerous suggestive materials bearing upon such a question may be mentioned especially Pitirim A. Sorokin, "Some Contrasts of Contemporary European and American Sociology," *Social Forces*, 8: 57-62, S 1920, and various passages in other works of Sorokin's; C. Wright Mills, "Methodological Consequences of the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46: 330, N 1940; Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Boston: Heath, 1938, Vol. II.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Florian Znaniecki, *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Kurt H. Wolff, "A Methodological Note on the Empirical Establishment of Culture Patterns," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 176-184, Ap 1945.

## THE INFLUENCE OF PARENT-IMAGES UPON MARITAL CHOICE

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PARENT-IMAGES are viewed, by various social psychologists, as playing a crucial role in the process of choosing a marriage partner. This view is based upon a certain conception of how human personality develops.

The child, it is held, is profoundly shaped by the character of his early affectional relationships. He learns to love, hate, desire, envy, avoid, and so forth, through personal contact with people during the earliest years of his life. The way his parents and other members of his family treat him, and their personalities, determine to a great extent the development of his own traits, emotions, feelings and reactions. The images which the child develops of the chief persons in this environment—namely, his parents—are derived largely from specific experiences he has had in this environment. These parent-images have associated with them powerful emotions; this is because it is in interaction with his parents that the child first learns to experience emotions and feelings. Adult feelings and reactions toward persons are held to be largely a reliving of the early childhood relationships.

Consequently the kind of individual whom the adult will love or hate, embrace or avoid, is determined largely by the kind of people he learned to love or hate as a child. The individual whom one chooses as a mate will resemble or be different from one's parents in just those important physical or personality traits the person liked or disliked in his parents when he was a child.

Arising out of this general theoretical framework are specific hypotheses of the following sort: "1. In childhood the person builds up a response relationship to the parent of the opposite sex which markedly influences his response to and the selection

of a love object in adult life. 2. If the childhood affectional relation to the parent of the opposite sex has been a satisfying one, the person will tend to fall in love with someone possessing temperamental and personality characteristics similar to those of the loved parent. 3. If a childhood affectional relation has been unsatisfactory, he is more likely to fall in love with a person of opposite temperamental and personality characteristics. 4. The childhood response fixation is generally, but not always, upon the parent of the opposite sex. It may under certain conditions be centered upon the parent of the same sex or upon a brother or sister."<sup>1</sup>

While investigation supporting this general view of the influence of parent-images upon mate selection has been largely psychoanalytic and clinical, there have been a few studies which attempted to check statistically this general theory (all of them directed at the hypotheses stating the influence of the opposite-sex parent-image).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, E. W. and Cottrell, L. *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. N.Y.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1939, pp. 344-5. The following persons have expressed all or some of the hypotheses noted above: Dreikurs, R. "The Choice of a Mate," *Int. J. Indiv. Psych.*, I, No. 4 (1930), 103; Fielding, W. J. *Sex and the Love Life*. N.Y.: Blue Ribbon Books, 1930, pp. 35-0; Fluegel, J. C. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*. London: Hogarth Press, 1926, pp. 8-0; Freud, S. *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*. N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1938, p. 610; Levy, J. and Monroe, R. *The Happy Family*. N.Y.: Knopf, 1938, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Commins, W. D. "The Marriage-Age of Oldest Sons," *J. Soc. Psych.*, III (1932), 487-90; Kirkpatrick, C. "A Statistical Investigation of the Psychoanalytic Theory of Mate Selection," *J. Ab. & Soc. Psych.*, XXXII (1937), 427-30; Mangus, A. "Relationships between the Young Woman's Conception of her Intimate Male Associates and of Her Ideal Husband," *J. Soc. Psych.*, VII (1936), 403-20;

However it has been pointed out in a recent critical survey of objective studies of psychoanalytic concepts that there are as yet no statistical investigations which are adequate for purposes of verifying the hypothesis of mate: opposite-sex-parent resemblances.<sup>3</sup>

The present paper is the outcome of an attempt to check, through both interview and statistical data, this general theory of the influence of parent-images upon marital choice.

Fifty engaged or recently-married persons were interviewed; all were women, because of the difficulty of contacting men for interviewing during wartime. Interviews averaged about three hours in duration. The interviewer did not adhere to a strict detailed outline; his procedure consisted rather of covering the same general topics with each individual, taking his cues for many specific questions from what information had been elicited already. General topics included: the individual's family life, her parents, her early childhood relationships with family members, her marriage partner, the narrative of how she "chose" him, her other boy friends. The interviews were conducted in a relatively informal and conversational manner. Usually they occurred in the interviewer's office; occasionally they took place at the woman's home.

On the basis of about half these interviews, a questionnaire was designed. A group of 373 engaged, informally engaged, or recently-married persons (200 women, 173 men) filled out this detailed questionnaire.

The people studied through both interview and questionnaire were roughly, in their twenties; of college level; white; American; with at least one of the couple residing or having resided in the Chicago metropolitan area. The findings to be reported in this paper have application, perhaps, only to this kind of population.

Hamilton, G. V. and MacGowan, K. *What is Wrong with Marriage*. N.Y.: Albert & Charles Boni, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> Sears, R. R. *Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts*. A report prepared for the committee on social adjustment. N.Y.: Social Science Research Council, 1942, p. 43-4, 52-3.

#### FREQUENCY OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN MATE AND ONE OR BOTH THE PERSON'S PARENTS

Various psychologists believe a mate is chosen who resembles one or the other of the person's parents. Analysis of questionnaire-returns yielded data bearing upon this question of whether there are such mate-parent resemblances.

Physical resemblances between mate and either parent were not very marked. Even those individuals who were designated as "the person liked next best to the preferred mate" resembled parents physically about as closely as did the actual mate. Where resemblances do exist between mate and either parent, however, the mate chosen tends to be physically like the opposite-sex parent.

With regard to whether people choose a mate who resembles parents in opinions and beliefs: as in the instance of physical similarities, resemblances in opinion-beliefs are not very marked. These resemblances are, however, greater than could be attributed to chance.

Concerning whether people select marriage partners who resemble parents in personality and temperament: the data revealed resemblances which were, as in the instance of both physical and opinion resemblances, not particularly startling but which were greater than could be attributed to chance alone. A significant difference in personality-temperament appeared (critical ratio of 2.8) between resemblance of men's mate and mother and women's mate and mother: Men's wives tend to resemble men's mothers more closely than women's husbands resembled women's fathers.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Data on physical, opinion, and personality resemblances were secured by asking individuals to check on the questionnaire whether mother and father were resembled by the mate (physically, in opinions, and in personality-temperament): "very much," "quite a bit," "a little," "not at all," or "opposite."

Individuals indicated also how closely "the individual liked next best" and "persons on the average" resembled either parent as compared with how closely the "actual mate" resembled either parent. This was done by requiring individuals to check

In order to get some further measure of temperamental-personality resemblances existing between mate and each parent, our population was asked to do the following.

Compare on the scale which follows the personality traits of *your parents*, and *your fiancé(e)*. Write *F* for father, *M* for mother, *S* for fiancé. If either of your parents is dead, rate as remembered.

<i>Very much so</i>	<i>Considerably</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>
Takes responsibility willingly				
Dominating				
Irritable				
Early influenced by others				
Moody				
Angers easily				
Gets over it quickly				
Jealous				
Aggressive				
Easygoing				
Selfish				
Stubborn				
Sense of duty				
Sense of humor				
Easily hurt				
Makes friends easily				
Cares what people say and think				
Likes belonging to organizations				
Acts impulsively				
Easily depressed				
Easily excited				
Understanding and insight into people				
Easy to confide in				
Feelings of inferiority				
Self confident.				

Each person's questionnaire answer was then scored in the following manner. The distance between adjoining boxes was rated as a difference of one point. For example, the distance between "very much so" and "considerably" would be a difference of one point. But the distance between "very much so" and "somewhat" would be a distance of two boxes, therefore two points difference. The distance between "very much so" and

whether the mate or the person liked next best resembled either parent: "much more," "more," "a little more," "same," "a little less," "less," "much less."

"not at all" would be a distance of four boxes, or four points difference.

With this scale of ratings, it was possible to score the point-difference between mate and each parent for each temperamental trait. Thus if the mate were rated for "aggressiveness" as "very much so" and the father was rated as "not at all," the point difference between father and mate would be four points for "aggressiveness."

After each trait had been so scored it was possible to determine scores of total point differences in temperament between father-mate and between mother-mate. This was done for each questionnaire return by adding up the point differences for each temperamental trait and then summing up the total point differences at the bottom of the page.

A similar operation was performed in order to get a comparable score of resemblances existing between just any random marriageable person of opposite sex and the person's own parents. To do this, we substituted for the person's own mate's temperamental ratings the ratings given for someone else's mate on another questionnaire.<sup>6</sup> So that, for example if a person rated both his mate and his father "considerably" aggressive, but the substituted random person had a rating of "not at all" aggressive; then there would be a difference of three points between the father and the random marriageable individual. In this way total point difference scores could be obtained for each person's parents as over against some random potential marriageable individual.

The results of this scoring procedure are given in Table I.

For both sexes, there is a normal curve distribution of random-father and random-mother scores. This normal curve distribution is definitely not characteristic for mate-parent point scores. Table I shows how

<sup>6</sup> Point differences of two to four points only were counted, since it was felt that one point differences might be too small to represent genuine differences in temperament between mate and a parent.

<sup>7</sup> This was done systematically so as to make the process genuinely random.

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in the latter scores a much larger per cent bulk in the low point-difference score range. It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that both mother-mate and father-mate temperamental resemblances exist in considerably greater number than random expectation would lead one to anticipate.

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF RANDOM-PARENT AND MATE-PARENT WITH REGARD TO TEMPERAMENTAL RESEMBLANCES

Total Point Differences	Percentages in Category			
	Father-Mate	Father-Random	Mother-Mate	Mother-Random
0-5	14.5	0.9	20.7	2.8
6-15	33.1	22.8	20.9	24.1
16-25	22.3	37.2	23.3	32.5
26-35	14.6	19.9	11.0	21.2
36-45	6.3	9.3	4.4	8.5
46-55	2.8	1.7	1.4	1.4
56-65	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6
No Reply	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A further breakdown of mate-parent temperamental resemblances was carried out. An attempt was made to determine which temperamental traits were most significant with regard to such mate-parent resemblances. A tabulation of coefficients of contingency was made, thus giving some measure of which specific temperamental traits might be considered most important with regard to mate-parent similarities.

Three temperamental traits had coefficients averaging over .55 for both sexes (mate-both parents): (1) gets over anger easily, (2) self-confident, and (3) sense of duty.<sup>7</sup> Three temperamental traits had coefficients averaging under .40 for both sexes (mate-parents): (1) takes responsibility willingly, (2) understanding and insight into people, and (3) easy to confide in.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Range of coefficients was: .58-.63, .49-.68, and .44-.60.

<sup>8</sup> Range of coefficients was: .22-.34, .26-.39, and .27-.44.

The most marked sex differences were the following. Easily excitable: coefficient for male's mate-father was .61, (as over against a coefficient of)

This section dealing with statistical evidence for parent-mate resemblances can be summarized by stating that there appear to be resemblances between mate and parents that are significant—they would not be expected on the basis of chance alone. That is to say, it would seem that mate-parent resemblances in physique, opinions, and personality-temperament are sometimes associated with the choice of a mate. It would appear also that physical resemblances are less associated with that choice than are resemblances in opinion and personality-temperament. Furthermore, certain specific temperamental similarities between mate and parent are more evident than are certain other temperamental similarities.

These findings tie in with the general theory that states that parent-images influence one's marital choice. They do not support, however, the specific hypotheses that state that one's mate is like or unlike the opposite-sex parent. Generally speaking, strong sex differences did not appear in the data; so that except for some confirmation with regard to physical resemblances between mate and opposite-sex parent, the data do not tend to support this specific aspect of the general theory. The sex of the parent in relation to ideational and personality traits seemed not to be important in the selection.

#### TYPES OF PARENT-IMAGE INFLUENCE

Similarly, analysis of interview data, while it supports the general theory that parent-images influence marital choice, does not support the specific hypothesis that the image of the opposite-sex parent necessarily strongly influences marital choice. Instead of speaking merely of an opposite-sex-parent image which influences choice, it seems

.58 for female's mate-father. Self-confident: coefficient for male's mate-mother was .49 as over against a coefficient of .68 for female's mate-mother.

The most marked differences in coefficients for the same sex were the following: Irritable: coefficient for male's mate-father was .37 as over against a coefficient of .54 for mate-mother. Sense of duty: coefficient for female's mate-father was .59 as over against a coefficient of .44 for mate-mother.

possible to speak of kinds of parent-image influence. While the number of cases analyzed was too small to yield a satisfactory classification of types, certain kinds of parent-image influence were brought out by inspection of and judgment on each of the fifty documents. These included the following:<sup>9</sup>

- Choice of mate resembling father.
- Choice of mate influenced by satisfactory relationships with brother and father.
- Choice of mate resembling father in all except temperament, in which he resembles mother.
- Choice of mate influenced by a combined parent-substitute and mate-image.
- Choice of mate influenced by ambivalent feelings toward mother and friendly feelings toward father.
- Choice of mate influenced by unsatisfactory relationships with father.
- Choice of mate influenced by violent reaction against father and friendly feelings toward mother.
- Choice of mate influenced by unsatisfactory relationships with mother and indifferent relationships with father.
- Choice of mate influenced by satisfying relationships with mother and unsatisfying relationships with father.
- Choice of mate influenced by satisfactory relationships with both parents.
- Choice of mate influenced by reaction against both parents.
- Choice of mate influenced in complicated fashion by mother, father, and nursemaid images.

It is very probable that there are many more kinds of parent-image influence playing upon marital choice. The above instances suggest merely the great wealth of concrete human contexts within which it can be said that parent-images affect selection of a marriage partner.

Interview documents, then, brought out the great diversity of processes by which the influencing of choice of parent-images occurs; they suggested how in childhood different persons experience quite different affectional relationships with their parents, so that they build quite different kinds of

images of their parents. Consequently the concrete fashion that these emotionally loaded parent-images enter into selection of a mate will differ greatly.

Brief synopses of several cases illustrating types of parent-image influence will be presented, since it is not feasible in a short paper to present the lengthy documents themselves. These synopses, in some instances, should illustrate not only types of parent-image influence but should give some insight into *how* parent-images enter into the process of choosing a mate.

*Choice of a mate resembling the father.* This woman's satisfying affectional relationships with her father in childhood and in adolescence, and her corresponding conception of him, seem to have been associated with her choice of a man who resembled markedly her father physically and psychically. She identified definitely and strongly the two men as being similar, and attached a meaningful significance to this fact. The document suggests strongly that satisfying relationships with the father played some role in the woman's selection of mate who resembled the father.

*Choice of a mate influenced by unsatisfying relationships with the father.* The person's experiences with a parent may be unsatisfying in some very important respect; and this unsatisfactory state of affairs may play a significant part in the person's choice of a mate. One woman complained that she had never been able to find companionship in her father. She had never been able to confide in him, confer with him about her affairs, especially emotional ones. What she admired most in her marriage partner was the very thing her father lacked: considerateness and understanding. As she said: "he takes the place of my father." The father failed conspicuously to play a certain role in the woman's life—namely someone who would listen understandingly and sympathetically to her problems, and discuss them with her. The mate selected was one who could fill this parental lack.

*Choice of a mate influenced by violent reaction against the father and friendly feelings toward the mother.* This woman reacted

<sup>9</sup> Documents secured from women only.

uently the emotionally selection of illustrating e will be in a short documents some in- y types of give some enter into the father. ncial rel- dhood and nding con- associated resembled and psy- itely and similar, and nce to this ongly that the father's selection unsatisfy- t. The per- at may be nt respect; affairs may son's choice ed that she ppanionship een able to about her . What she partner was : consider- e said: "he The father certain role meone who and sym- uscuss them as one who

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violently against her father's treatment of her; and her choice of mate seemed to be in part an expression of that reaction. Involved also in the choice was some influence deriving from affectional relationships with the mother; particularly the relationship wherein the mother supported the girl in her conflicts with the father. There was a history of continuous strife between father and daughter. The mother played a role of mediator in father-daughter battles, and lent the daughter emotional and advisory support. The mother's qualities were brought home to the girl by their contrast with the father's distressing qualities. These qualities found helpful, supporting, and likeable in the mother—and which were markedly lacking in the father—were precisely those which the woman brought out in her description of her marriage partner.

*Resemblance between mate and mother linked with satisfying mother-image and unsatisfying father-image.* The woman may choose a mate resembling her mother rather than her father. One woman described how her mother had always made her the center of a great deal of "fuss" and attention; whereas as a child she had conceived of her father as a tyrant—someone who was always punishing her. In contrast to the mother his temper was bad, he was not understanding, he did not admire her nor make a great fuss over her. The marriage partner selected by this woman strongly resembled the mother in temperament. Furthermore it was very evident that the relationship existing between the woman and her marriage partner in some measure repeated the childhood relationship between the girl and her mother. Like the mother he made a great fuss over her, making her the center of a great deal of attention. Markedly

contrasting with this was the woman's account of differences between husband and father: in temperament they were quite unlike each other; and whereas the husband was helpful, understanding, sympathetic, adoring, the father had never treated her in such fashion.

*Reaction against both parents influencing choice.* Antagonism and emotional reaction against both parents may be a factor influencing marital choice. One woman's husband appeared to be virtually a symbol of the woman's revolt against her parents. Although the girl's early childhood relationships with her parents seemed not to have been markedly unsatisfying, when she grew up she felt her relationships with them to be very unsatisfying. Her description of both parents was replete with signs of dissatisfaction, antagonism, revolt, and bitterness. They are pictured as having restricted and confined her. The things she wanted as she grew to adulthood were "reactions against what I've been brought up with." Her husband was clearly symbolic of adult standards of values and aims, and those values and aims were strictly at variance with those represented by her parents. She herself made articulate the linkage between parent-images and mate-image: "I think the kind of person he is is sort of a symbol of everything that's just opposite to them." He represented to the woman release from the world of her parents.

The above brief synopses of types of parent-image influence should serve to give some indication of the great wealth of concrete human contexts within which it can be said that parent-images affect selection of a marriage partner. They suggest, too, how childhood affectional experiences with parents are linked with adult love choices.

## SOME MEASUREMENT AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY\*

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### INTRODUCTION

AFTER a decade of struggle against the socially debilitating effects of mass unemployment, the United States succeeded during World War II in virtually eliminating its unemployment problem. This experience has given impetus to the goal of eliminating unemployment in peacetime. Conversion of the wartime achievement of full employment into a continuing peacetime reality has become the test of our basic national policies.

The "Employment Act of 1946," signed by the President in February 1946, is a milder version of the Murray Full Employment Bill originally adopted by the Senate, with more restricted objectives than could have been read into the Murray Bill. However, the following pronouncement made by the President of the United States when he signed the Act indicates the broad support of the objective: "In enacting this legislation, the Congress and the President are responding to an overwhelming demand of the people. The legislation gives expression to a deep-seated desire for a conscious and positive attack upon the ever-recurring problems of mass unemployment and ruinous depression."<sup>1</sup>

Sociologists may well take cognizance of the widespread acceptance of the full employment objective by the people of the United States, Great Britain, and other democratic countries. The recent legislative enactment may be regarded as the first step toward a full employment objective. This

objective implemented by a succession of policies will, with the passage of time, have profound effects on our national life and on our dealings with other nations. Sociologists, like their colleagues in the other social sciences, will need to address themselves to studies of the effects of a full employment policy on social problems of concern to them.

The depression during the 1930 decade stimulated a variety of studies of the pathological manifestations of a malfunctioning national economy.<sup>2</sup> A unified national effort to maintain a condition of full employment and high levels of income can likewise be expected to generate research as to the positive effects of a progressively improving social-economic environment. The effects may involve modifications in the role of government in the economic life of the community, governmental organizational structure, levels and standards of living, forms of social control, institutional arrangements, patterns of family life, birth and marriage rates, population growth, rural-urban population distribution, and many other aspects of culture with which sociologists deal.

The starting point in any planning of a full employment program is the number of people who are able, willing and seeking to work and the goal is their adequate, regular, and remunerative employment, which will in turn yield progressively higher levels of living and greater security to all sectors of the population. The *human* factors in production and consumption are the keynote of the full employment goal.

In these respects a full employment policy emphasizes and is oriented toward ends and

\* Address given before American Sociological Society at the 40th annual meeting, March 1-3, 1946, Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., February 20, 1946, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Notable examples are the 13 monographs on the effects of the depression issued by the Social Science Research Council in 1937.

values of concern to sociologists. Its implementation will require a wide variety of economic and political measures. The appraisal of effects and of degree of success of full employment policies will therefore involve both sociological and economic standards. Translation of goals into concrete ends and the measurement of their attainment thus require a close synthesis of economic and sociological data.

In this paper are discussed certain measurement problems stemming from the implementation of a full employment policy. Also considered are some research problems which will arise in the appraisal of effects or the measurement of degrees of attainment of full employment. At the outset, it is conceded that measurement techniques are not yet developed for some of the important socio-cultural effects that a full employment policy may have, but this concession also means that there exists the challenge, the need, and the opportunity for the development of such techniques.

#### LIMITATIONS OF AVAILABLE HISTORICAL DATA

It is in precisely the areas of keenest interest to students of social problems that historical data needed for full employment policy are most deficient. Until 1940, there were no current statistics on the total size of the labor force, or on changes in the number of persons of given age-sex groups who enter or leave the labor force under varying conditions of prosperity and depression. Likewise the data are insufficient as to the effect of changing levels of national prosperity on the spending and saving patterns of American people.

The types of national economic statistics developed in the past reflect a laissez-faire bias. They related so much to production, prices, and inventories of physical resources as to reveal an underlying assumption that the human problems would take care of themselves. Classical and neoclassical theory did not find it necessary to deal with the realities of unemployment. National statistics relating to employment were frequently a by-product of collecting data on production. The gainful worker statistics of the

1930 and earlier decennial censuses were aimed primarily toward getting an inventory of the occupations of persons who usually do gainful work rather than toward measuring the current employment status of the Nation's workers.

During the last 10 or 15 years, it has been recognized that adequate national statistics were required on the effectiveness of utilization of human as well as other resources. The desperate need for current statistics showing the numbers of totally and partially unemployed persons during the 1930 decade stimulated the development of techniques for obtaining information on the current work status of the population through monthly sample population surveys. The influence of the relief and welfare objectives of the Work Projects Administration program was reflected in its research program which contributed both directly and indirectly to the development of labor force statistics in this country. The direct contribution was made through experimental studies in measuring the labor force through sample population surveys. These studies had an important influence in shaping the labor force information obtained in the 1940 Population Census and in initiating a current monthly series which is being continued by the Bureau of the Census. An indirect contribution of WPA to government statistics consisted of the training and practice in research and survey methods relating to social problems which the research program offered to many social scientists who later served in government agencies.

Methods and techniques of collecting and analyzing labor force data were given a new stimulus by the almost unlimited demands for manpower in a nation at war. Major emphasis in the use of labor force statistics during the war was on obtaining full manpower utilization for maximizing production. As the transition is in progress to a peacetime economy, labor force statistics are being utilized as indicators of the state of functioning of the economy in providing employment opportunities. Continuing developments are needed in the types of labor force and related statistics being collected

to make them of even greater service in measuring the degree of attainment of the full employment goal and in reappraisal of policy objectives to keep ahead of ever-rising standards.

#### LABOR FORCE DATA NEEDED

Current estimates of the labor force, employment and unemployment by sex with employment shown separately for agriculture and nonagriculture and by hours worked during the week, are published regularly by the Bureau of the Census in the Monthly Report on the Labor Force for the country as a whole. Additional detail on age and other characteristics of persons in the labor force is occasionally published in the Labor Force Bulletin. These data relate to the activity status of the working age population reported for one week of each month and thus reflect the changes in labor market activity of the population which occur seasonally during the year and from year to year.

Labor force statistics can serve in measuring the degree of attainment of full employment by identifying the groups of the Nation's workers for whom full employment has not yet been obtained. These groups include those whose employment is inadequate in amount or remuneration as well as those who are wholly without work. Criteria will need to be developed for identifying individuals in the labor force whose current employment is inadequate.

The identification of the wholly unemployed is already being made by the Bureau of the Census. The size of this group is one indication of the extent to which full employment is not being attained, although some small amount of unemployment would be expected even under the best conditions due to turn over, new workers looking for their first jobs, and other frictions of the labor market. Additional information needs to be obtained to identify two groups among the employed: (1) the underemployed—those who do not have a sufficient amount of work—and (2) the inadequately remunerated—those who do not receive an adequate rate of remuneration for their work, whether be-

cause of low wages or because of low returns from self-employment.

Identification of the underemployed group poses certain measurement problems. The problems involve determining criteria of underemployment and then devising a question or questions for the survey schedule which would elicit information permitting application of the criteria. Criteria for classifying persons as "underemployed" on the basis of a current week's activity, for example, might be these—the individual reported both working less than a standard work-week (say 35 hours), and that he would take more work under the same or lower rates of compensation.

Formulation of a question or questions to reveal whether a person working less than full-time during a week is "underemployed" is made more difficult by the fact that the housewife generally reports for all members of the household in enumerative surveys. In many cases she may not be able to give a satisfactory answer to whether the part-time worker would accept more work. It is possible that the identification of the underemployed should not be attempted in each monthly survey, but that once each 3, 6 or 12 months, an attempt be made to interview individually each member of the household who is employed and reported working less than full-time during the week, to obtain the necessary information. All such persons, or a subsample of such persons, might be asked additional questions such as "Was your working less than full-time during the week due to sickness or vacation during part of the week or some other temporary personal reason?" And to those answering no, the question could be asked "Do you want more hours of work per week at the same rate of compensation?" Persons answering no to the first and yes to the second question would be classified as part-time workers in need of additional work.

Another type of approach would permit additional subcategories of the part-week workers. All persons reporting some work but less than full-time during the reporting week could be asked a question as to the reason he or she did not work full-time dur-

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ing the week. A code letter could be entered by the enumerator identifying one or more of the following types of situations: (1) Temporary sickness of worker or other temporary personal reason (vacation, sickness of others, etc.); (2) Does not want more work per week (voluntary part-time worker); (3) Would like to have more work at same rate of remuneration, but more work not available (involuntary part-time workers).

Identifying involuntary part-time workers illustrates the types of measurement problems confronted in developing additional types of needed labor force statistics. There is the operations problem of actually getting to interview the worker involved, since it would often not be possible for another person to report accurately for him. There is the schedule-construction problem of phrasing questions to permit the identification of the group desired. With respect to the latter, recent experience has shown the preferability of a series of simple questions, as indicated by the first approach, rather than for the enumerator or respondent actually to make the classification, as indicated in the second approach. This is especially true when the subcategories are not inherently mutually exclusive, and can be made so only by specifying priorities for those persons for whom more than one answer would be correct.

Enumerative techniques of this nature will aid in measuring the size of the group identifiable as involuntary part-time workers and thus underemployed at the time of the cross-sectional picture of the labor force. A series of such cross-sections taken at monthly intervals provide a picture for the year of the average number of workers who had full-time work, who had and desired only part-time work, and the average number who were not provided with sufficient amount of work. But measures of annual average numbers of workers in these categories cannot satisfactorily identify the individuals who experience more or less chronic conditions of underemployment. For most groups the cross-sectional labor-force data can be usefully supplemented by

information covering a longer period than a week, preferably a year.

For farmers and other groups whose patterns of employment are greatly affected by seasonal fluctuations, information on a yearly basis is essential. For example, the operator of a low-income, one-crop farm may work quite long hours per week during the busy season of the year, but he may be greatly underemployed during the rest of the year. Furthermore, his resulting annual income may be below any minimum standards of adequacy. These two sets of conditions would indicate both underemployment and unproductive employment. Questions of time-input versus income criteria arise, however, when they would yield different classifications. For example, a "suit-case" wheat farmer with profitable farming operations may put in even fewer hours of work per year than the low-income farmer mentioned—a month or so in the spring at seeding time and again in the fall for harvest. The net returns from his farming operations, however, may yield an annual income far above minimum standards of adequacy. Is the wheat farmer to be classified as adequately employed, even though he does less work during the year than the underemployed low-income farmer?

In addition to the underemployed, there is another group among the employed whose employment does not meet standards of adequacy because their rate of remuneration is inadequate. Identification of this group also poses problems of interest to sociologists, especially with regard to setting standards or criteria of "adequacy" of remuneration. Not much progress can be made in developing actual survey techniques until research and study can provide some basis for consensus on minimum standards of adequacy of remuneration. It seems a logical necessity for these to be geared to consideration of the minimum income needed for an adequate level of living of a worker and his dependents, rather than to the type of work done or the profitability of the employer's enterprise.

During the depression a number of attempts were made to establish minimum

budgets, for reference primarily in appraising relief standards. In establishing criteria for measuring attainment of full employment, however, the frame of reference is changed and the approach to the setting of standards should be consistent with the ideals of the American people which have taken expression in the full employment goal.

Various approaches are possible in setting criteria for adequacy of remuneration. Criteria could be set on a family basis or on an individual worker basis. In a full-employment economy, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the full-time work of an adult, skilled or unskilled, should be remunerated at least at a rate which provides an income sufficient to maintain a minimum adequate standard of living for a family. It might be objected that a smaller wage would provide a minimum-adequate level of living for a single person, or for a married man without children whose wife also works. However, employment at a wage less than sufficient to support a family acts as a deterrent to marriage, or to having children. On the other hand, remuneration above the minimum for adequate support of a single person would mean that unmarried persons could establish higher than minimum standards of living, could save to provide for further education or to meet initial expenses of marriage. Moreover, it must be remembered that many unmarried persons, females as well as males, have partial or total dependents.

The qualitative connotations of standards termed "adequate" or "minimum-adequate" mean that their formulation must involve consideration of what is considered adequate by the people concerned as well as by scientists. Thus extensive research in standards held by various groups of the population will be required to set up the criteria to identify workers who have inadequate incomes due to inadequate rates of remuneration. Meanwhile some approximate criterion may be used for preliminary identification of those employed at definitely substandard rates—such as a conversion of the minimum-adequate annual budget figures being developed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

#### TYPES OF RESEARCH NEEDED

Up to this point we have considered mainly methodological developments needed in the development of standards and in the measurement of the current degree of attainment of full employment. It is important also to consider the methods or policies which might bring about full employment in peacetime, and to raise the question of what contributions sociological research can make to revealing the factors which hinder or promote the attainment and maintenance of full employment. What guidance can sociological research give as to the types of policies and the ways in which these policies are to be applied to the task of achieving full employment?

Reliance for the means of achieving full employment must necessarily be placed on many types of economic policies. The key to full employment lies very largely in the maintenance of a volume of expenditures by consumers, business, and government that is equal to the volume of goods and services produced at a full employment level. The achievement of this goal will require appropriate price, wage, foreign trade, public works, social security, agricultural and other policies. To be effective these policies would have to be closely coordinated in their planning and implementation. There would have to be a high degree of coordination and policy integration between the legislative and executive branches of the Federal government and among Federal, State, and local governments.

In addition to the strictly economic policies directed toward maintaining consumer purchasing power at the level consistent with full employment, interrelated policies will be required to minimize the obstructions which prevent the full utilization of the supply of labor. These obstructions are manifested both in frictional unemployment and, more importantly, in underemployment and inadequately remunerated employment. Frictional unemployment, unless it is very broadly defined, is primarily a phenomenon of a full or nearly full employment situation, since in times of moderate or heavy unemployment the supply of workers exceeds job openings so that

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there is no important frictional lag in filling most job vacancies. Other types of obstructions to the full utilization of the labor force are more pervasive and continuing in their effects.

Research is needed on several groups of conditions which impede full utilization of the labor supply in a qualitative as well as a quantitative sense. Studies should be focused on the complex of cultural factors producing spatial and occupational immobility of idle, semi-idle, and under-remunerated labor. These factors include lack of knowledge of job opportunities, lack of skills and education, fear of economic uncertainties, various attachments to family and community, conformity with local mores, and discriminatory or restrictive employment practices against racial, religious, or other groups.

We have historically relied on the automatic operation of the push-pull factors to produce spatial migration for the requisite mobility of the labor supply. In general this has produced an insufficient volume of migration from chronically overpopulated areas. Even when a large amount of migration has occurred sporadically from some areas, it was sometimes so disorganized as to constitute an aimless wandering, as for example, the drought and depression-born trek of the "Okies" to the California fields. In the present relatively mature state of development of the country, automatic or nondirected migration can no longer be relied upon for achieving the optimum degree of mobility in the Nation's labor force. As Beveridge points out, the mobility of labor required as an essential part of a full employment policy is "organized mobility. That means preventing or discouraging needless movement, as well as promoting movement where it is needed. It means diminishing aimless movement in chase of jobs which are not there."<sup>3</sup>

Much more research is needed on the factors of population dynamics which produce a maldistribution of population. These factors are manifested in the high population

pressure existing in industrially underdeveloped areas as in sections of the South and of the Great Plains States. The measures needed to deal with population maldistribution must rely heavily on directed migration and upbuilding of undeveloped resources, including introduction of new industries. The extent to which further industrialization can provide additional employment opportunities will determine the extent to which population reduction should be sought through migration.

Another set of factors contributing to unemployment and underemployment is found in what is usually referred to as the "lack of organization of the labor market." It arises from inadequate machinery (or inadequate use of existing machinery) for bringing men and jobs together and for matching men and jobs with the view toward best utilization of occupational skills and minimizing turnover. Casual, haphazard, and irresponsible hiring practices by employers and misdirected or unguided job-seeking by workers are both factors and symptoms of a disorganized labor market. The existence of excessive reserves of underemployed labor for meeting occasional or seasonal peak demands in such industries as agriculture, construction, and longshore work is a particularly serious problem of an inadequately organized labor market. Policies directed toward minimizing these rigidities and restrictions to fuller utilization of the labor force would be necessary to assure a closer approach to full employment.

In addition to research in these fields, sociologists may contribute by work on broader problems relating to full employment policy which cut across the boundaries of the several social science fields. Because the achieving of full employment will require the coordination of many policies and application of these to diverse areas of activity, there will be a great need for research which attempts to appraise their composite effects on various population groups in the United States.

One field in which work will be needed is in revealing the nature of the resistances which the various policies adopted meet, the

<sup>3</sup> William H. Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society*, London: 1944, p. 175.

factors making for such resistances, and the methods and techniques by which the policies could be better effectuated. Social psychology and sociology as well as political science can make contributions on such problems. Giddings' famous dictum that "when stateways and folkways clash, the folkways always win out" does not necessarily spell defeat for a new type of legislation. Instead it calls for social science to aid in devising the modifications in techniques that will prevent a clash. This would appear possible since the goals of the legislation are essentially a long-standing and fundamental tenet of traditional Americanism—the right of every person to productive work and the right to returns for his labor which are adequate to support himself and dependents.

Another area of research in which sociologists should contribute along with economists is in providing a better basis for projecting the socio-economic patterns of behavior which affect important phases of full employment planning. The problems focus mainly on prediction of two types of choices people will make under conditions somewhat different from any experienced in the past. These are choices as to activities (for certain groups of the population) and choices as to expenditures.

The carrying out of a full employment policy calls for projections into the future of the numbers of persons who will be able willing, and seeking to work. The requisite current statistics regarding labor force participation were not collected in the past, nor has the past afforded a counterpart of the sustained maximum employment and income levels for the Nation toward which the present full employment policy is aimed. This means that projectors must guess what will be the net effect on the choice of a married woman, for example, as between working, when her husband is adequately employed and she feels a sense of security for the future, and stopping work to have another child, or giving more time to home duties and children she already has. Although there are severe limitations to what data can be extracted from the past or done in the way of controlled current experi-

mentation, further light is possible from repeated cross-sectional studies of groups with varying levels of income and security. Similarly, research is needed on the labor force participation rates to be expected from young people whose situations permit them either to work or to continue their education as they choose. Records of choices made by veterans offer a new wealth of data to be explored.

There is possibly less basis for predicting how people will spend their incomes in a full or near-full employment economy in peacetime than for predicting what proportion of young people or married women will choose to enter the labor market. If full employment and related policies—such as much broader coverage and liberalization of Social Security and Unemployment Compensation benefits—lead to a real sense of economic security as to the future for most of the workers of the country, the spending and saving patterns of the past might be greatly altered. At present, the consumption projections for 1947 or 1950 are geared mainly to data and research as to what families did in the depression-cloaked 1930's, with information on a very small sample of families available for 1941.

Because data on the past are inadequate and because the over-all record of the past cannot afford a satisfactory basis for projecting future expenditures of families, demand for goods, and resulting employment, further research is needed as to spending patterns of families grouped not only according to income level, but according to degree of security felt. Some approximate indications might be obtained by studies of groups with different degrees of security because of savings, occupation, or particular job attachment. In collecting the data and making current analyses, economists have the major contribution in this problem. But in getting at some of the "whys" underlying the spending patterns of groups which feel different degrees of security, sociologists also can contribute.

The problems discussed above are partly or wholly within the province for which sociologists have developed techniques for

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research and a background of information. By directing research efforts to the understanding of why and how various factors operate to hinder the achieving of full employment for certain sectors of the population, and to the appraisal of techniques and

policies for modifying their operation, sociologists can make important contributions to the body of scientific knowledge necessary for the attainment of full employment in a democracy.

## THE DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE INDUCTIONS ON OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

MAPHEUS SMITH

*National Headquarters, Selective Service System*

**T**HE Selective Service System is the agency which, under federal law, is authorized to register, classify and deliver for induction male residents of the United States and territories. The number and characteristics of the men whom the Selective Service System delivered for induction were in accordance with the requirements of the armed forces for acquiring, equipping, training, supplying and utilizing a military force capable at first of national defense and finally of defeating the nation's declared enemies.

The requirements of the armed forces for acquiring and training their numerical strength by use of men of selected physical, mental and personal qualifications inevitably came into conflict with the requirements of equipping and supplying these men for modern war of a number of years duration. In order to fill the ranks of the armed forces with enough men of high quality, productive industry had to lose workers it could not replace without making it impossible for a longer or shorter period to equip and supply the armed forces and the civilian activities of the United States and its allies. Therefore, Selective Service found it necessary to give great consideration to the deferment of individual workers in agriculture, war production activities, and activities in support of the national welfare, while workers in other occupations and industries received little consideration for deferment. By deferring keymen, irreplaceable men and men regularly engaged in work essential to the prose-

cution of the war, and by inducting others, a successful balance was maintained between necessary production and the demands for military manpower.

### THE GENERAL IMPACT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE ON REGISTRANTS 18-37 YEARS OF AGE

As of July 1, 1945, a total of 8,987,200 or 40.7 per cent of the 22,002,800 Selective Service registrants 18 through 37 years of age had been inducted into the armed forces. Another 10.6 per cent had enlisted in some branch of the armed forces. An additional 4,921,700 or 22.4 per cent were registrants rejected for physical, mental or moral reasons. A total of 3.4 per cent were in classes awaiting final processing toward induction. Thus some 77 per cent of the registrants are known to have been processed toward induction before July 1, 1945, and many others had received occupational deferments after being examined for induction.

The case of the younger age group, those 18 through 25 years of age, reveals much more clearly the impact of the war on America's young men. As of July 1, 1945, 70 per cent of these registrants had served in the armed forces and about 95 per cent of them had been processed toward induction. Most of the other 5 per cent were agricultural workers.

### THE IMPACT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE ON THE EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE

The war had as profound an effect upon the 1940 labor force as it had upon the total

group of registrants. As of April 1, 1940, a total of 21,367,781 males 18 through 44 years of age were employed in classified occupations,<sup>1</sup> of whom it is estimated that 16,157,000 were 18 through 37 years of age. During the period November 1940 through June 1945, 8,818,056 men 18-44<sup>2</sup> years of age employed in classified occupations at time of entry into military service were inducted via the Selective Service System into the Army and Navy, of whom 8,320,700 were estimated to be 18 through 37 years of age. Inductions of males employed in classified occupations thus were equivalent to 51.5 per cent of males 18 through 37<sup>3</sup> years of age in 1940 who were employed in classified occupations.

Since younger registrants were inducted more rapidly than older ones throughout the administration of the act, a number equivalent to about 65 per cent of employed males 18-25 years of age in 1940 were inducted by the end of June 1945 compared to almost 55 per cent of employed males 26-29 years of age and about one-fourth of those aged 30 through 37 years of age.

#### DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE ON OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

It is apparent that the proportion of inductions to all workers in the occupation has been larger for some occupations than for others. Only in a relatively few instances have the armed services sought men with certain work experience, although they have consistently sought to obtain young men, because of their greater physical stamina and adaptability. Consequently, it is to be expected that those occupations which have suffered the greatest drain from inductions are those with large proportions of young

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of students and nonclassifiable returns.

<sup>2</sup> Age at time of induction.

<sup>3</sup> There was, of course, much occupational shifting between 1940 and the date of induction, and many of those unemployed in 1940 had taken jobs at the time of induction, but the only recent occupational breakdown of the population available for comparison with the occupations of inducted men is that of the 1940 Census.

workers engaged in non-essential or less essential work, or who, if doing essential or more essential work, were more easily replaced than some other workers.

Inductions varied greatly from one major occupation group to another. Although they constituted only 29.5 per cent of all employed male workers 18-44 years of age in 1940, operatives and laborers comprised 41.7 per cent of all men inducted into the Army and Navy November 1940—June 1945 (Table 1). Next in order among per-

TABLE I. MAJOR CIVILIAN OCCUPATION GROUPS OF MALES INDUCTED INTO THE ARMY AND NAVY, NOVEMBER 1940 THROUGH JUNE 1945, AND EMPLOYED IN 1940

Major Occupation Group	Inductions November 1940— June 1945	Employed Males 18-44 Years of Age 1940 <sup>4</sup>
Operatives & Kindred Occupations & Laborers	41.7	29.5
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred	12.9	12.0
Farmers and Farm Laborers	12.6	18.6
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Service	12.0	13.5
Students	4.9	6.4
Professional and Semiprofessional	3.3	5.5
Managerial and Official	2.8	7.5
Nonclassifiable	4.9	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

centage of all inductions, were craftsmen and foremen; farmers and farm laborers; and clerical and sales workers, all with 12 per cent or more of total inductions, and from 12.9 to 18.6 per cent of all male gainful workers 18-44 years old in 1940. Other groups, relatively unimportant among inductions, as among employed workers in 1940, ranged between 4.9 per cent for service workers and students, and 2.8 per cent for managerial and official workers. The greatest drain was suffered by operatives and laborers, followed by craftsmen and foremen. The operative and laborer groups were

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Census of 1940.

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relatively easy to replace, because great skill and long experience are not as important in such occupations as in some others. Women replaced many of these workers, particularly those who operated machines. Craftsmen and foremen were drained off in large numbers, partly because many of them were useful in the armed forces in the skilled activities of the present war, such as operating locomotives, acting as motor vehicle mechanics, and as plumbers and gas and steam fitters.

Service, managerial and professional workers and students were below average in rate of induction. Protective service workers were given some consideration for deferment, because of the need for policemen, guards, firefighters, and federal agents in providing security for the home front. Other service workers were not deferred but had high proportions of men failing to meet physical standards for induction (Table 2). Managerial and official workers were given occupational deferments in order to disrupt the war effort as little as possible. The same thing was true of professional and semiprofessional workers. Many students also were deferred, and a large number volunteered.

The small induction rate of farmers and farm hands is due for the most part to the protection of the Tydings Amendment to the Selective Training and Service Act, passed in November 1943, which stipulated that men actively engaged in agricultural pursuits could be inducted only if they were replaceable and replacements became available. Another factor is the relatively high rejection rate of agricultural workers.

The analysis by detailed occupation<sup>5</sup> reveals that the drain of inductions on some specific occupations was much greater than on others within each major occupational group. Among professional occupations a larger proportion of musicians, writers, artists and actors were inducted than of any other category, while medical and technical

workers appeared in very small numbers among inductees.

All semiprofessional occupations suffered a heavy drain, but dancers, showmen and athletes were outstanding in this respect.

TABLE 2. REJECTION RATES PER 100 REGISTRANTS EXAMINED, BY MAJOR CIVILIAN OCCUPATION GROUP, APRIL 1, 1942—DECEMBER 31, 1943<sup>6</sup>

Occupation Group	Total
All Occupations	42.6
Domestic Service Workers	59.6
Farmers and Farm Managers	53.4
Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	52.8
Service Workers, except Domestic and Protective	49.1
Laborers, except Farm and Mine	46.6
Managerial and Official, except Farm	46.4
Protective Service Workers	42.7
Professional and Semiprofessional Workers	42.2
Craftsmen and Foremen	40.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers and Laborers	40.1
Clerical and Sales Workers	37.5
Students	25.7

Among clerical, sales, and kindred occupations stenographers, typists, office machine operators, and shipping and receiving clerks were subject to the greatest drain.

Among service occupations, cooks were inducted in especially large numbers, while domestic service and protective service workers were below the average for all groups in inductions, the former because of a high rejection rate, the latter because of the deferment of policemen and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Inductions made the heaviest drains from the craftsmen, foremen and kindred occupation group on carpenters, plumbers, roofers, blacksmiths, and locomotive engineers and firemen, while induction drain was least on machinists, printing craftsmen and foremen.

Among operatives and kindred occupations and laborers the drain was particularly heavy on chauffeurs and truck drivers, welders, railroad brakemen and switchmen, at-

<sup>5</sup> Space considerations prevent the publication of the detailed table. Interested persons should communicate with the author or with National Headquarters of Selective Service, Washington, D.C.

<sup>6</sup> Greve, C. H., "Physical Examinations of Selective Service Registrants During Wartime," *Medical Statistics Bulletin No. 3*, National Headquarters, Selective Service System, 1944, p. 12.

tendants at filling stations, and lumbermen. The drain was proportionately much less on mine operatives, painters, and telegraph, telephone and power linemen.

#### INTERPRETATION OF DIFFERENTIAL DRAIN OF INDUCTIONS ON OCCUPATIONS

The explanation of the differential drain of inductions on occupations cannot be stated fully or simply at this time. Many factors affected the operation of the deferment policy which explains the occupational differentials in inductions. Physical status and literacy standards were constant deferment factors, and the most important factors, particularly in the early period where men up to age 45 were inducted. Standards of physical acceptability changed from time to time, but they were at all times sufficiently high to cause the deferment of a large part of the available manpower. Age was the next most important deferment factor, since the principle of age limits on induction was applied from the beginning. Its application was continuous but variable. In the pre-war period the limits were expanded once and they were expanded again immediately after the start of the war. But from that time on the age range for induction was progressively narrowed to meet military needs for younger men for combat. Dependency status was also an important deferment consideration during most of the induction period. Fathers with children born before December 7, 1941 were not inducted in appreciable numbers until the beginning of 1944, and men whose induction would cause extreme hardship to dependents were deferred throughout the duration of induction.

All of these items alone and in combination with each other, because they are causally related (for example, age and physical status, and age and dependency status), had their effects on the differential drain of inductions on occupations. Some occupations are confined almost entirely to women, but most were predominately male before the war. Some variations in rejection rate among major occupational groups have already been

indicated, and they existed for detailed groups also. There were also important age and dependency variations among occupational groups that contributed to occupational differentials in induction.

Deferment policies of Selective Service also operated directly with regard to occupations and industries as well as indirectly through the above-mentioned factors. Throughout the war period critical worker shortages developed in many industries and occupations and special consideration was given to workers in the critical and essential occupations and industries and to necessary men "in support of the war effort" or "in support of the national health, safety or interest." Deferment Classes II-A, II-B, and II-C were established, in which local boards were instructed to place men deferred because of work in the most important activities, and Classes III-B and III-C were established for men with dependents who were engaged in work important enough to merit occupational deferment.

In brief, then, the inducted man, if employed at the time of induction, was a man whose combination of age, dependency status and employment was such that his local board or an Appeal Agency considered him not to deserve a deferment, and who, when physically examined, met the minimum standards for induction. The occupational distribution of all inducted men, such as that presented in Table 1, resulted from a combination of the various factors contributing to the induction of each man and as a consequence, of the total number. The drain on each occupational group as a result of induction may therefore be accounted for by a different weighing of factors from that of each other occupational group.

Other variables than those already mentioned are also related to the occupational distribution of inducted men, but they are generally dependent on one or more of these fundamental and relatively independent variables. The least necessary occupations, in which the age range is generally low, and the proportion of men with dependents is generally high, that is, the occupations which

have suffered the highest drain by induction, or which, if they do not show a high rate of drain, have been "protected" by high rejection rates, are generally occupations whose people had little education and received low incomes. However, poverty and level of education are not directly responsible for the occupational differentials revealed. Wealth and income were not bases for the actions of local boards or appeal boards to a statistically significant extent, nor was educational attainment. Indeed, during three of the four years of war lack of education was not a basis for deferment. If a minimum standard of intelligence was met, induction depended on being of a suitable age, dependency, occupational and physical status.

Deferment was related through occupation to the man's work status. If he were a supervisor, proprietor or employer, or skilled, he was more likely to be considered necessary or irreplaceable than if he were an employee, an unskilled or semi-skilled worker or a man supervised by others. It is true that poverty and poor education accompany and partially result from one's role and status in the economic system, and it may be that the poor and the uneducated contributed a disproportionate share of the men inducted for service. But this fact was only an indirect result of the necessity of keeping the productive economy of the nation operating as near a maximum as possible at the same time that a 12,000,000 man military establishment was waging the war. The men less important for productive industry were inducted because it appeared that they could perform greater service to the nation in the armed forces than they could in civilian jobs, and that they could be replaced by women, boys, or older men who could not fight satisfactorily. The men more important for productive industry, although they were young, without dependents, and physically fit were deferred until replaced, or as long as possible, if no replacements were found. The ideal was to induct men whose induction and to defer men whose deferment would help to win the war most

quickly. This ideal was not always attained in practice, but it, rather than discrimination against any economic group, work status group, race or creed was the predominant thought in the minds of the many thousands of men who made the decisions resulting in the induction of the millions of men who entered service.

#### DIFFERENTIAL OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDUCTED AND VOLUNTARILY ENLISTED MEN

The explanation of why one man voluntarily enlisted for service as a private in the Army or an apprentice seaman in the Navy and why another man waited for Selective Service to forward him for induction may never be accurately determined. It is even more difficult to determine the correct explanation for the total number of men. Many men volunteered out of patriotism, and many others because of desire to select, as much as that was permitted, the kind of service which they would give. Some who expected to be inducted volunteered at the last minute because of the prestige they would gain. Others volunteered for officer training and, after failing to receive commissions, found it necessary to serve in the ranks. On the whole, however, the volunteer was one who attempted to take an active role in the war situation and to make such choices as his position permitted.

According to the data presented here, one man enlisted voluntarily for 3.7 men inducted through June 1945. Most of the enlistments occurred early in the war, because voluntary enlistment was prohibited after December 5, 1942, except for a few men above 38 years of age whose skills were particularly desired by the Army and Navy and 17 years old boys who were still accepted by the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard as volunteers.

The percentage of inductees who were operatives and laborers was greater than the percentage of enlistees from among such workers (Table 3). The same thing was true of farmers and farm laborers, service workers, and managerial and official workers. The

percentage of enlistees who were craftsmen, clerical and sales workers, and professional and semiprofessional workers was greater than the percentage of inductees among such workers.

TABLE 3. MAJOR CIVILIAN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF MALES INDUCTED AND VOLUNTARILY ENLISTED IN THE ARMY AND NAVY, NOVEMBER 1940 THROUGH JUNE 1945

Major Occupation Group	Induc-tions <sup>7</sup>	Enlist-ments <sup>8</sup>
Operatives & Kindred Occupations & Laborers	41.7	30.4
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Occupations	12.9	18.9
Farmers and Farm Laborers	12.6	5.0
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Occupations	12.0	12.7
Service Occupations	4.9	4.0
Students	4.9	3.8
Professional and Semiprofessional	3.3	4.6
Managerial and Official	2.8	1.3
Nonclassifiable	4.9	19.3
Total	100.0	100.0

These differences between the occupational distribution of voluntarily enlisted men and that of inductees are explained in part by the fact that certain kinds of workers were deferrable and would therefore appear among inductees in very small numbers, but might still appear freely among enlistees. Thus, it is possible that deferment policy would reduce inductions from certain occupations, but enlistments would be proportionately great because of patriotism or already existing attitudes and point of view. An example of such a group is protective service, which contributed more than twice as large a percentage of enlistees as of inductees. Deferred from induction, their training as servants of the public led them to volunteer out of proportion to their numbers. Other examples are craftsmen, clerical

and sales workers, and professional and semiprofessional workers.

In contrast, some occupation groups were the source of few voluntary enlistments. Farmers and farm laborers were the foremost example. Partially protected from induction by special legislation and deferment regulations, which held their induction rate down to two-thirds of the proportion they constituted of the male working population in 1940, their enlistment percentage was less than one-third as large as their proportion in the general population. Another example was the managerial and official group. Although smaller in size, this group made an even smaller contribution than farmers and farm laborers to the armed forces in proportion to their percentage in the total population. Although less than half as large a percentage of all inductees were managerial and official workers as of all male workers in 1940, less than one-fifth as large a percentage of all enlistees were in such occupations. However, since many managerial and official workers became commissioned officers, and are not included here, the group's contribution to military personnel cannot be fairly assessed from the data presented. Commissionings would not be a factor of similar importance in the case of farmers and farm laborers. Students also fail to show up well; many had volunteered for Army and Navy college programs but are not included in the tables presented here.

Another kind of factor accounts for the difference between the percentage of inductees and enlistees who were operatives and laborers. The percentage of enlistees was much less than the percentage of inductees from this major group, but still larger than the proportion of such workers in the 1940 population. This occupational group was almost entirely unprotected by occupational deferment policies and the drain of inductions was over 50 per cent of the 1940 total. However, the proportion of all enlistments from this group was still large, probably because of anticipation of imminent or inevitable induction.

<sup>7</sup> November 1940 through June 1945.

<sup>8</sup> September 1940 through June 1945 for the Army; net figures for Navy as of June 30, 1943 plus gains from July 1, 1943.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN GOVERNMENT DURING WORLD WAR II\*

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**T**HIS discussion is based in considerable part upon experience in an organization charged with the study of "attitudes" and "morale" in the United States Army: Research Branch, Information and Education Division, War Department. Our analysis is based upon observations drawn from work in this country and from operations in the European Theater. Certain conclusions arise from wider observation of several other governmental research organizations. The intention is to focus mainly upon things which seem to have been "learned" about: (1) research organization, and (2) the relation of research to administrative action.

Presumably most members of this Society are acquainted in a general way with the work of the Research Branch. The studies carried out by this organization do not—for sociologically significant reasons—fall neatly under the rubric of any one of the social sciences as usually delimited. People who in previous academic life had been labelled as "psychologists," "social psychologists," "sociologists," and so on worked together; and in many instances it is impossible to ascertain from the technique or content of a given study the academic background of the author or authors. This situation arose in the first instance out of the mandate of the organization. It was established to carry out "service" research directed toward "practical" (i.e., immediate administrative) problems. In many instances these concrete problems represented the in-

terlacing of technical, economic, political, and psychological or sociological problems—all combined in one not-too-neat package. Generals were, understandably, not particularly interested in strictly analytical research as such; rather, they wanted specific, concrete findings which seemed to have a definite, *immediate* bearing upon administrative policy and practice. In such a social climate, interdisciplinary cooperation in some sense becomes a practical necessity. This may be regarded as one of the early "lessons" which came out of Research Branch operations.

Now, the opportunities and limitations in such an operation can be adequately understood only when it is recognized that it took place within what is practically the empirical polar type of *bureaucratic* social organization. All the definitive characteristics of bureaucracy reach an especially high level of development in a modern Army, and in the Department which has official jurisdiction over the Army. These characteristics include among others a rigid hierarchy, formal and impersonal procedures, appointment of officials, sharp demarcation of areas of competence and authority, a multiplicity of explicit and rigid regulations, a high degree of specialization of functions, and a complex system of interlocking subordinate organizations.<sup>1</sup> This formal structure, embodying legitimate authority and commanding important coercive sanctions, emphasizes above all a rigid *discipline*—including the requirements of punctuality,

\* Read before the Eastern Sociological Society, Sixteenth Annual Meeting, New York, May 5, 1946. This paper was presented as part of a discussion panel with Raymond V. Bowers, John A. Clausen, and Clyde W. Hart on the subject, "What Has the Sociologist Learned in His Research Experience in the Government That Has Bearing on the Development of Sociology in the Immediate Future?"

<sup>1</sup> Starting from the classic analysis of Max Weber (*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1922; Part III, Chapter 6), the broad features of modern bureaucracy are being increasingly clarified by sociological analyses. See, for example, Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces*, Volume 18, Number 4, May, 1940, Pp. 560-568.

reliability, precision, caution, methodical procedure. It aims to reduce as many matters as possible to a predictable routine, and to this end there is a tendency to proliferate detailed rules around which there arises a variety of supporting sentiments and "interests." A further complication in the specific case at hand is that the larger structure included both a "military" and a "civilian" component. It is fair to say that complete integration in aims and methods as between the two was not always present.

This type of social organization produces strong pressures against innovative, or otherwise nonconforming, behavior. Thus any scientific group concerned with human relations tends to be initially *ipso facto* suspect; for the assumption is that research will or may lead to innovations which have the potentiality of "disturbing" the existing social structure. Furthermore, a large bureaucratic structure typically develops among its members segmental loyalties to particular suborganizations and officials. This is often associated with segmental tendencies to power-aggrandizement ("empire-building"), and this in turn to the development of a body of "secrets of the office." A monopoly of knowledges and techniques is an important advantage in the internal competition for power and prestige. Recognition of this fact on the part of localized administrators is not conducive to enthusiasm for being studied by a relatively independent "outside" research organization. Upon this is superimposed the defensive reaction-pattern of subordinates in a sharply graded hierarchy in which superiors can impose severe penalties for failures to meet standards, and are especially likely to do so in the case of "sins of commission." Finally, this whole structure was officially directed toward one dominant goal: that of "winning the war." It stressed tangible action, and tended to focus on numbers, quantity, and movement rather than certain less immediately obvious matters which sociologists would regard as crucial.

So much for some necessary preliminary characterization of the broad social features

of the situation within which "morale research" had to function. Our main task here is to supply some marginal notes on a few specific problems of research administration and on some of the implications of possible solutions. Much of this discussion will not go very far beyond a "common-sense" level, and is not intended to be in any way definitive.

#### INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH AGENCY

Considered organizationally, one of the most striking features of this war-time governmental research is that it was *group research* rather than *individual research*.<sup>2</sup> From our experience on this point at least two main conclusions seem justified: (1) team research is feasible and productive to a degree which would not have been generally acknowledged as possible in many academic circles a few years ago; (2) collaborative group research introduces important new problems of organization, motivation, and of research standards and ultimate purposes. These problems are not easily solved. They, therefore, seem to merit a few specific comments.

In the first place, there is the matter of motivation of the individual worker. Persons brought up as "independent artisans" do not easily adjust to the anonymity and discipline of the "factory." The usual background and training of academic social scientists is not conducive to the fabled "passion for anonymity" likely to be called for in governmental research. Initially, therefore, a governmental research agency has to select professional workers who have, or can quickly develop, the capacity for doing productive work as relatively anonymous members of a group.<sup>3</sup> Such an agency is

<sup>2</sup>The emphasis upon a "team" rather than the individual craftsman is a general characteristic of research within government. It represents also a rather marked recent trend in American social science outside government.

<sup>3</sup>Research Branch publications usually did not carry the names of the persons who had done the work. Certain other organizations have not gone to this length, but there is a general tendency to minimize individual public "credit" for given studies.

typically held *collectively* responsible for its findings, regardless of which individuals may have actually produced a given report. Accordingly, each member of the staff has a direct and personal interest in the conclusions published (or otherwise "presented") by every other member. This leads to intensive and incessant collaboration and mutual criticism at all stages of research, from the choice of problems to the finished product.

Thus, group research of this type requires frequent conferences and much discussion. Out of that process there ideally emerges clarification and consensus. In practice, there is no doubt that it is nearly always a painful process, that it is often time-consuming, and that it sometimes results in compromises pitched on a sort of lowest-common-denominator of insight and creative problem-solving. Where, as is perhaps usually the case, the personnel came from rather divergent academic backgrounds, the best results can be expected only after a period of personal interaction sufficiently long and intensive to develop common understandings and in-group sentiments.

Experience seems to definitely indicate that *in team research it is essential that one individual be held finally responsible for the completed study*. The study director may, and is usually expected to, consult most intensively with others working on the problem. The ideas and valuations of others often prevail; but the final veto power must be with the director. Otherwise, one can expect a considerable measure of delay, confusion, duplication of effort, and a high level of mutual personal irritation.

A common problem in governmental research (and by no means unknown elsewhere) is that of the relationship between the group of research technicians and the administrative body officially in charge of their activities. In addition to internal administrative functioning, the latter group is continually in touch with those who will or may use the research findings. It is engaged in promoting the survival or expansion of the agency, discovering problems appropriate for study, "selling" administra-

tors on the need for research, presenting and interpreting the findings or recommendations. It is continually under pressure to deliver immediately usable, specific results quickly. Insofar as the technical staff meanwhile is insulated from these pressures they tend to be unaware of, or to discount, the "urgency" of external demands. In any case, their attention is focused upon problems of theory, method, and technique and they are sharply aware of limitations and difficulties as to the reliability, validity, and applicability of the findings. Aside from any possible differences in initial motivation, out of these two social situations arise both gross and subtle differences between administrators and technicians in interests, aims, and valuations. Consequently, the intergroup relation is often, and perhaps typically, in a state of instable equilibrium.<sup>4</sup> This instability may be minimized by such policies as: (1) provision of full and immediate information on administrative decisions to the technical staff; (2) participation of representatives of the technical group in administrative deliberations; (3) participation of technicians in external dealings concerned with specific studies. In our research on "morale," we seem to have observed that the morale of the researchers was best when they understood the administrative goals and policies, and participated in the formulation of policies.

It might be mentioned also that in a large bureaucratic research organization, other similar problems of social segmentation develop. If there is a data-gathering ("field") staff and a data-analyzing ("office") group, one may expect problems of status and difficulties in mutual understanding. Likewise, although usually with less disruptive potential, the same problems emerge in connection with the "production" staff (IBM machine operators, clerical personnel, rewrite staff, and their supervisors). Intellec-

<sup>4</sup> Underlying many specific conflicts, of course, is the problem of imperfect integration of status and authority. Typically this involves a *technical* hierarchy and an *administrative* hierarchy. Usually the two do not perfectly coincide.

tuals, even in the social sciences, do not always behave without injuring the "residues of personal integrity" of such personnel. It is hardly necessary here to advance specific prescriptions for these problems; there are a number of technically effective approaches, given administrative *recognition* of the central problems.

Finally, in the wartime experience, sociologists with rigorous standards of research frequently were confronted with motivational dilemmas emerging from: (1) the pressure for quick results; (2) the correlated (real or assumed) lack of *scientific-theoretical* significance of many studies. (To what extent these conditions are likely to characterize future research is a question which may be left aside in this discussion.) It is often said that "academic" sociologists suffer from frustration because their findings are not immediately put to practical use. If we grant this, we must recognize that "applied" government research in avoiding this particular unpleasantness may sometimes find itself largely restricted to problems and techniques which are not strategic for *scientific* advance, however important they may be in other respects. As a matter of fact, scientifically important results were achieved in a number of instances. This, however, appears to have been in spite of rather than because of the emphasis upon speed and immediate practicality.

#### RELATION OF THE RESEARCH AGENCY TO THE LARGER CONTROL-STRUCTURE

In government or out of it, research never occurs in isolation from the position of the sponsoring agency in the social structure. As a matter of frequent experience, this proposition, with some of its implications, is widely recognized. In this context, however, research carried out in government often differs in important respects from research under the auspices of foundations and universities. In the latter cases, the sociologist is usually studying some aspect of the wider society apart from the sponsoring group; in the case of government, it is perhaps more usual that the researcher is di-

rectly concerned with the activities of the agency promoting the research. Insofar as this is the situation, the sociologist faces in a distinctive way the specifics of administrative controls in research.

Experience with social research in the Army during war is perhaps especially valuable because of the sharpness with which the problems were defined. For example, every bureaucracy (public or private) withholds from the general public certain facts about its activities; in the present case the requirements of military secrecy highlighted a tendency which may be less obvious in other instances.

Insofar as the sociologist studies matters which are regarded as unproblematical or "given" in the structure of the large agency within which he functions, his activity is likely to be regarded as unnecessary or having hostile intent or both. To take a fanciful example, Army research on the hypothesis that the immediate and complete abolition of officer-enlisted man distinctions would improve military efficiency would unquestionably have been subject to such administrative interpretation.

The central thesis being advanced here may be simply outlined, thus: (1) Formal organizations invariably establish a framework of rules, values, and basic assumptions which are regarded as essential, and largely taken-for-granted. Insofar as this generalization holds true, (2) research on human relations within the organization, or on the relations of the organization to other groups or individuals, is inevitably channeled by the organization to problems *within* this established framework. (3) Governmental agencies are defined as embodying a "public interest." Another way of stating this is to say that "political" (power) considerations are especially likely to affect governmental organizations. (4) Viewed in terms of the putative need for sociology to analyze the total society, the increasing prominence of sociological research in public agencies carries with it a need for simultaneous strengthening of other foci of scientific study, under as wide as possible a range of control-structures. Thus, a lesson for sociology in

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the immediate future is effective recognition of complementary research emphases, so that problems which in one context are not appropriate or expedient for study will receive attention in another.

#### APPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH TO SOCIAL ACTION

What have we learned about the relation of research to "administrative," and other, social action? It is possible here merely to outline in brief a few tentative hypotheses.

First, it may be suggested that when a social scientist appears in a group *in the role of a person studying the group* his presence universally arouses some measure of anxiety.<sup>5</sup> A special variety of this response we may term *organizational anxiety*.<sup>6</sup> It is a practically important pattern in a society which is increasingly characterized by the dominance of large, formal, centralized structures. Anxiety, be it noted also, is not the exclusive or special prerogative of the *direct* objects of study; on the contrary, it is likely to be especially marked among the few strategic individuals in central positions of power and influence upon whom depends the initiation, acceptance, or utilization of specific studies. To recognize the frequency and significance of this reaction is a first major step in a realistic approach to the application in action of social research.

A second hypothesis directly relates to the problem posed by the first. It is that maximum acceptance of research findings by administrators is to be anticipated only when the administrators have, in some sense, "participated" in the study from its inception.

<sup>5</sup> One can conceive of a theoretical abstract system so perfectly integrated that this reaction would not appear. So far as known to the writer, an empirical society of this kind has not yet been found.

<sup>6</sup> Some astute observations on a specific social situation are presented by Alexander Leighton in his work *The Governing of Men* (Princeton University Press, 1945).

tion. An official who has raised questions for investigation and has taken part in at least a portion of the research planning is likely to feel a sense of responsibility and reality in relating the findings to action which is frequently lacking when his first contact with the study is the completed report.

Third, research findings are not utilized to the extent warranted by their intrinsic merit if sole reliance is placed upon dissemination by the printed page.<sup>7</sup> It seems safe to say that in our experience the best immediate results in translating research into action came through repeated contacts with persons in positions of authority and influence. Speaking generally, leaders and administrators simply will not take the time or expend the effort to digest and apply our studies to their problems unless the research sociologist or some intermediary helps them do it.

Finally, we may advance the proposition that in many instances research oriented to immediate action problems will fail of acceptance, or if accepted will be inadequate or misleading, if it attempts to find complete answers in terms of *one* analytical scheme. Nowhere are the dangers of "reification" or the "fallacy of misplaced concreteness" more evident than in research focused on immediate "solutions" to concrete problems. Adequate solutions are always the result of a synthesis of principles and facts from several analytically separate disciplines. To actually function in terms of this realization is the mark of a mature sociology, and a step toward the integration of social science into action around the crucial problems of our day.

<sup>7</sup> However, much improvement in effectiveness is possible even within this medium. By the use of summaries, a simple vocabulary and concise text, and charts and diagrams sociological reports can be "translated" into material usable by busy men with prejudices against reports couched in resounding technical terms.

## POST-WAR DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS IN BRITAIN\*

ENID CHARLES

*Dominion Bureau of Statistics\*\**

THE war-time rise in the British birth-rate, though less striking than in some of the other belligerent countries, was still greater than might have been expected in the light of the demographic trends of World War I. The movements of the birth-rate are of special interest on account of the very low level reached by reproduction rates during the thirties. It is of some moment for the demographic future of the Western World to inquire whether we have touched bottom in the trends towards smaller families. In 1933 a rapidly declining population seemed close at hand so the inducement is strong to regard any upward movement as a reversal of the trend. Due to war-time difficulties, complete data for the analysis of the present situation are not yet available. Possibly a lapse of time would in any case be required before its full significance can be assessed. Yet we can narrow the field of speculation somewhat and outline the problems to be faced in the immediate post-war period.

### POPULATION GROWTH FROM 1801 TO 1931

In the 150 years of British statistical history, the population increased more than fourfold, while at the same time a net outward balance of migration contributed about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  million persons to the settlement of the United States and the Overseas Dominions. Growth, at first rapid, slowed down to a rate of less than 5% per decennium, but throughout the war period the population of Great Britain has continued to increase. Loss through migration remained considerable until 1931, when it was replaced by a gain of about half a million in the next eight years. Political refugees made up a small part of this gain, but of greater im-

\* Address given before the American Sociological Society at the 40th Annual Meeting, March 1-3, 1946, Cleveland, Ohio.

\*\* This is not an official publication of the Bureau of Statistics.

portance was the diversion of the normal currents of migration as a result of the depression. Irish emigrants who found the States harder to reach turned to Britain instead, while numbers of former emigrants returned home when conditions became difficult. Emigration has been proportionately much greater from Scotland than from England and Wales, so that in spite of a slightly higher rate of natural increase in the former country, its population has grown more slowly.

From 1800 to 1870, it is probable that the birth-rate showed no consistent trend. As is well known, the rapid increase in population at that time was the result of a reduction in the death rate. From about 1870 onwards, the birth-rate fell rapidly and consistently. Figure 1 shows gross and net reproduction rates, computed at decennial intervals for the period 1850 to 1931.<sup>1</sup> The decline in fertility is remarkably consistent and the peak post-war birth years, 1920-22, show as only a slight deviation from the trend. The important part played in increasing expectation of life in mitigating the effect of rapidly declining fertility on population growth is seen in the more gradual decline of the net reproduction rate. This effect was significant even as late as 1921. In England and Wales, however, mortality rates have now reached a level where, though their further improvement and the reduction of the still considerable class differentials are of the utmost social importance, the effect of further improvement on the demographic situation would be insignificant. During World War II, civilian mortality suffered a setback during 1940 and 1941, but since then has been favourable and infant mortality has set a new low record.

Reproduction reached its lowest point in 1933, the trough of the depression years, with gross reproduction rates of .85 for

<sup>1</sup> Source: Glass "Population, Policies and Movements." Pp. 13 and 63.

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### GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES ENGLAND & WALES AND SCOTLAND

1850-52 TO 1930-32

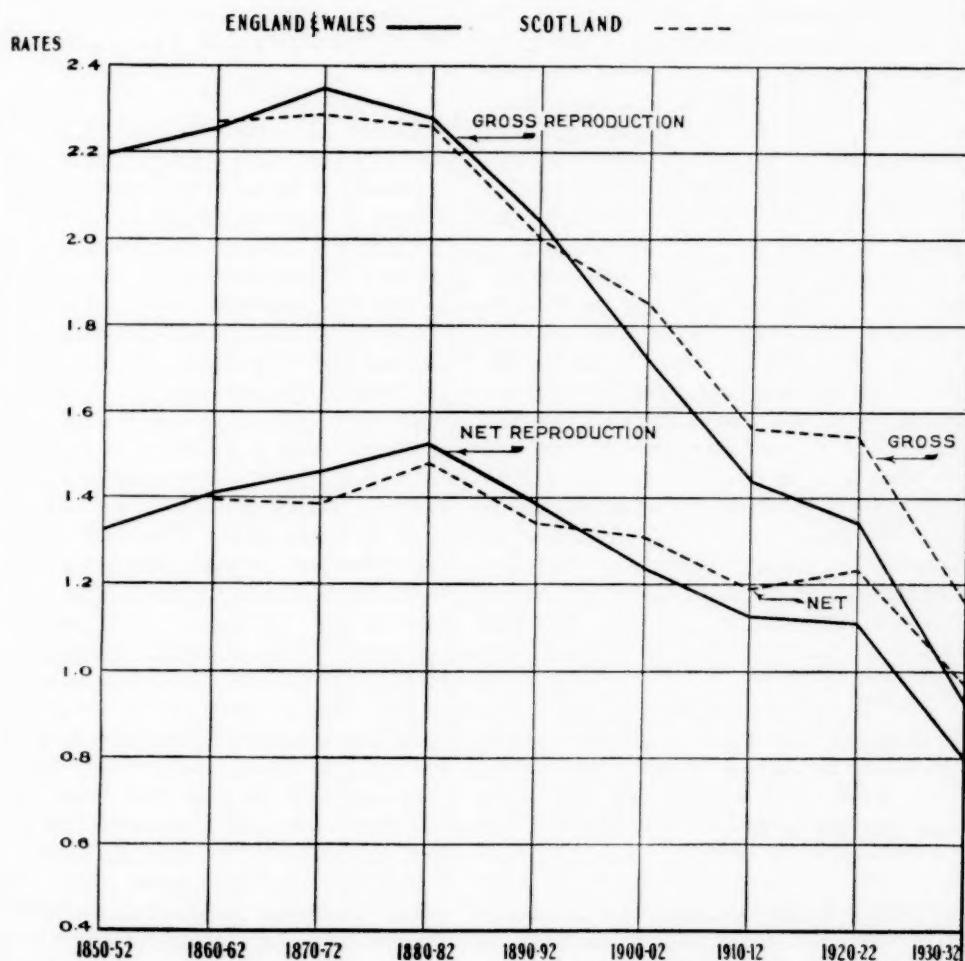


FIGURE I

England and Wales and 1.04 for Scotland. The corresponding net rates were .74 and .88. Changes in the probability of marriage and in age at marriage played but a small

part in halving the net reproduction rate in 60 years. In England marriage frequency was at its maximum around 1871 and at a minimum around 1911 to 1912. Since then

it has been rising. Married fertility rates of 1931 applied to the proportions married of 1871 would give reproduction rates about 10% higher than the actual rates. The crude mean age at marriage has moved in a similar manner, but the differences have not been great. Marriage frequency in Scotland has been throughout considerably lower than in England but the trend has been more consistently upwards.

As we would expect from the low level of fertility reached in 1931, social class and regional differences are less striking than those we are accustomed to see in North America. While the extreme degree of urbanisation reached in both England and Scotland and the relative cultural homogeneity of the people have contributed to this result, there is considerable evidence that, following the general rule, such differentials as still existed were being rapidly reduced. One of the most characteristic British phenomena is the disappearance of the usual rural-urban differential. Though distinctions do not correspond to the line we wish to draw it is still worthy of note that in 1931 the gross reproduction rate of rural districts was only 7% higher than that of the County Boroughs, which include the large industrial towns other than London, while in Scotland the rate was higher in the large Burghs than in the Landward Districts.

According to Tietze,<sup>2</sup> total paternity rate by social class in 1931 ranged from 2.76 for the miners to 1.42 for professional persons. Comparable rates for 1911 are said to be 4.90 for miners and 2.00 for professional persons. This is confirmed by the 40%-50% fall in regional rates in the Durham and South Wales coal fields during this period. The higher fertility of Scotland as compared with England is largely accounted for by high fertility in the Clyde area. Regional rates there had fallen less rapidly than might have been expected. Assimilation to the reproductive pattern of Britain as

a whole was undoubtedly retarded by the extreme poverty and squalor of the Clyde area. In spite of the rapidity of the equalization process, it still seems possible that if in 1931, fertility everywhere were to have fallen to the level of the most infertile groups, the gross reproduction rate would have been about 0.75, a reduction of 20%. There was of course no reason at this time to suppose that fertility was not going to fall still further at the then lowest levels.

#### CURRENT NUPTIALITY

Though the main interest of the war years lies in the trend of fertility, it will be convenient to begin with a consideration of changes in marriage frequency. As the birth rate declines, year to year changes in the numbers of marriages have an ever more striking and immediate effect on the numbers of births. This is obviously the case in England where the proportions of first births to all births (legitimate only) in 1939 and 1940 were 42% and 43%<sup>3</sup> respectively, and nearly 60% of all legitimate maternities occurred in the first five years of marriage. Figure 2 shows crude marriage and birth rates for England and Wales and for Scotland from 1901 to 1944. Numerous workers have shown that the year to year fluctuations of the marriage rate in peace time correspond fairly closely to fluctuations in employment and real wages. The movements in both wars are very similar. Both started at a time when marriages rates were rising following a depression. In both the rate rose sharply in the first year following the outbreak of war, then fell to unprecedented low levels. In both wars the number of marriages began to increase some months before the actual cessation of hostilities. It remains to be seen whether a boom in marriages will occur in 1946 and 1947 similar to that experienced in 1919 and 1920. The high marriage rates in the early part of both wars, while unemployment was being liquidated, can be interpreted as a continuation

<sup>2</sup> Tietze "Differential Reproduction in England," *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XVII. No. 3, July 1, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> The proportions are the same for all legitimate maternities including still births and for all maternities that produced at least one live birth.

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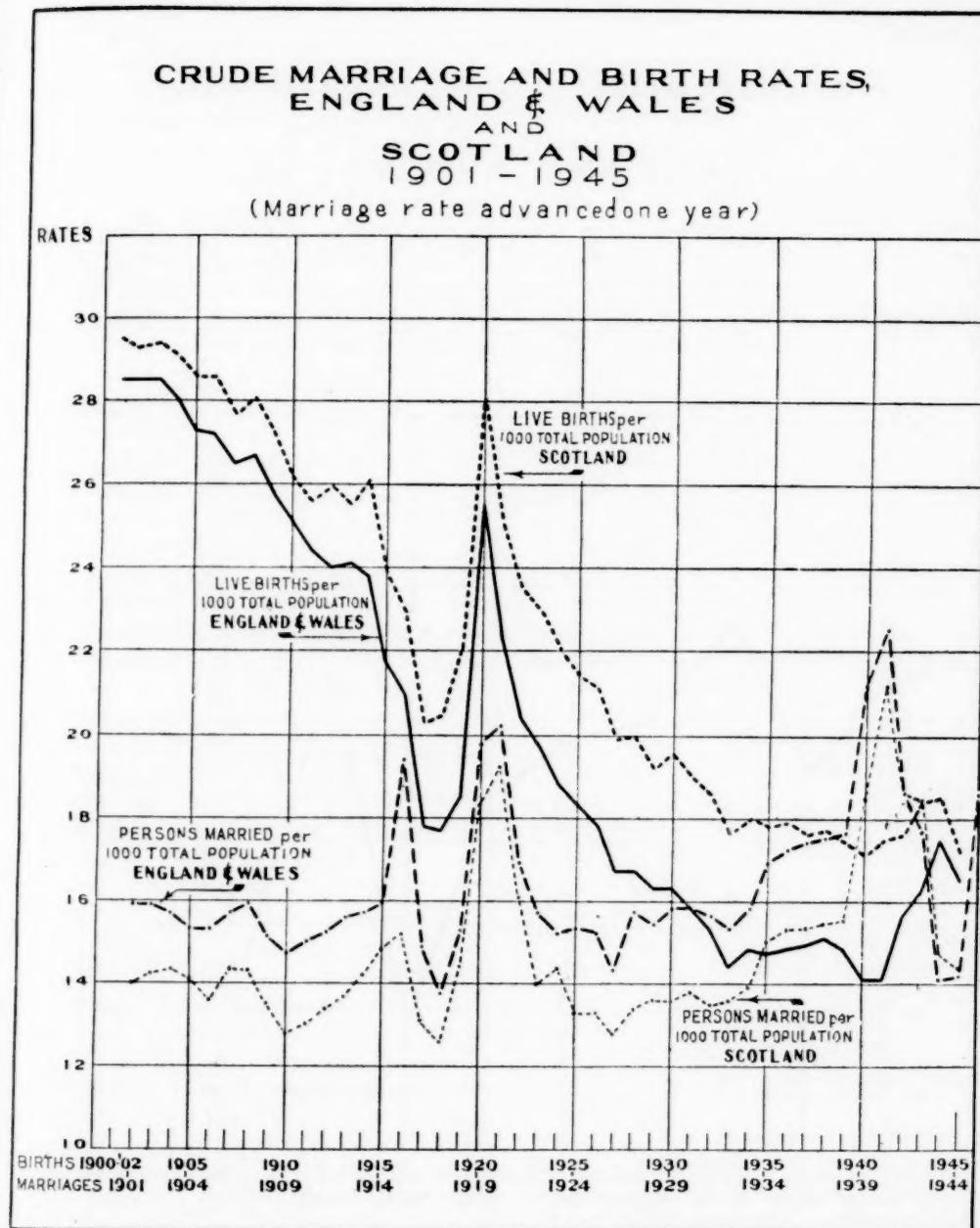


FIGURE 2

of the boom period, while the later fall reflects specific war conditions and the absence of many men on the fighting fronts. The striking difference between the two war

periods is the high level of the crude marriage rate in the period 1934 to 1939.

That recent high rates do not merely reflect marriages postponed during the depres-

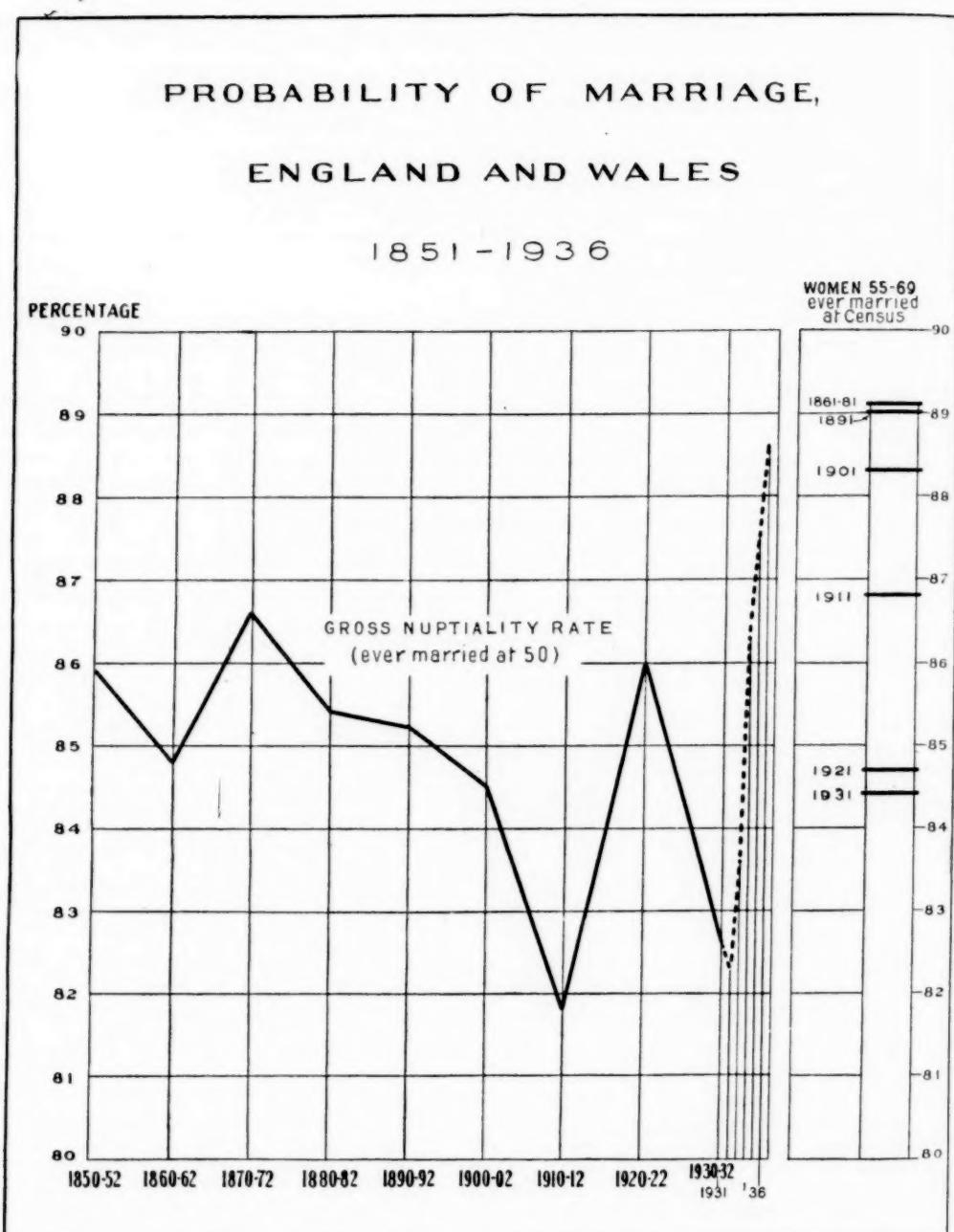


FIGURE 3

sion is indicated by other evidence. The National Registration of September 1939, gives the latest enumeration of conjugal

condition. In England the minimum proportions married (excluding widowed and divorced) for women under 25 years were

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found in 1911. In 1939 they had risen to about the level of 1881. Among women, 25 to 35 years there were more married than at any previous time. In Scotland owing to rising marriage rates, all groups under 45 years and higher proportions married than ever before. The effect of World War I on marriage frequency is seen in minimum proportions ever-married among women 45-54. In England 83.4% of the women in this age group had been married at least once. The proportion ever-married among women 65 and over, who were too old to have had their probabilities of marriage seriously affected by the first World War, was but slightly higher—83.6%. The effect of the earlier war in reducing the chances of marriage was insignificant compared with the low marriage frequency in the period immediately preceding it.

A more accurate measure of current probabilities of marriage, the gross nuptiality rate, leads to the same conclusion. Figure 3 shows proportions ever-married at 50 according to gross nuptiality tables, computed by Glass, from 1851 to 1936, and for comparison, proportions ever married in the age-groups 55-64 at successive Censuses. It is clear that even in 1936, the probability of marriage was rapidly approaching a maximum.

#### BIRTHS

Turning back to the chart of crude birth rates, (Fig. 2.), we see that in contradistinction to the marriage rate, which showed no distinct trend between 1901 and 1933, the crude birth rate was falling rapidly up to the latter year. After 1933, however, parallel to the rising marriage rate, the crude birth rate becomes stabilized, and in fact, in 1944 was at a higher level than for many previous years, though still below the rates prevailing during the first World War. The course of events in the two wars was somewhat different. Although in the second there was an initial fall, it was less steep and lasted only for two years. Operating on a much lower birth rate, the Second World War did not reduce the number of births to the same extent as the first. The crucial

question for the future of population growth is whether the war-time rates are simply the result of changing numbers of marriages or whether a real stabilization or reversal of fertility trends has occurred.

Official net production rates are available for Scotland in 1938 and for England and Wales up to 1944. Reproduction rates, however, contribute nothing to the analysis of year-to-year fluctuations in the number of births, since they are affected by rapid changes in the numbers of marriages in exactly the same way as the crude birth rate. What is needed is a breakdown of specific fertility rates by order of birth and duration of marriage. This will not be possible in Britain until publication of the new data collected under the Population Statistics Act of 1938 is resumed.

For the present, in order to obtain some clue as to the share of extra marriages in the rising birth rate, an attempt was made to estimate the expected numbers of legitimate births in each year from 1931 to 1944 on the assumption that the rates at which children were produced in each year of marriage remained the same. The average of the two sets of duration-fertility rates available for 1939 and 1940 for England and Wales were used for the purpose. These were applied to the total number of marriages from 1905 onwards, and in this way an expected number of legitimate births was obtained for the years 1930 to 1944. The trend of the ratio of actual to expected births suggests, though it cannot do more than suggest, what may have been the long-term trend in legitimate fertility.<sup>4</sup>

Table I gives the available net reproduction rates in recent years for England and Scotland. They are shown graphically in Figure 4. The figure also shows the ratio of expected to actual legitimate births, calculated in the way described above. Comparison with Fig. I shows that the net reproduction rate rose even faster than the

<sup>4</sup>The effect of higher mortality rate in the earlier part of the period has been neglected, and so to a small extent, the decline in fertility has been understated.

crude birth rate. It includes the effect of improving mortality rates, and even, in the official rates, the effect of anticipated improvements as well as the effect of rising births. Births per duration-year of marriage follow a rather different course. From 1933 to 1939, when reproduction rates were rising, married fertility appeared to be falling, though at a slower rate than from 1930 to 1933. From 1939 onwards, the index of actual to expected births fell sharply and then rose in the same way as the reproduction rate. We can see here perhaps the occurrence of births postponed in the depression years. But while the reproduction rate rose above that of 1931, it appears that when due allowance is made for increase in the number of marriages, married fertility over the whole

a rather remarkable and unexplained fact that, in the midst of a war which affected so drastically the whole of the civilian population and took out of the country a considerable number of potential fathers, the numbers of births should have been as large as they were in 1943 to 1945.

Summing up the very tentative conclusions reached about current trends in fertility, we can say first of all that the Second World War differed from the First in coming at a time when the probability of marriage was high and rising. It is not impossible that this phenomenon is connected with the very low level of family size reached in England. When marriage no longer necessarily means the responsibility of a large family, it may be more lightly undertaken. If serious unemployment can be averted, it is possible that a high level of marriage frequency could be maintained.<sup>9</sup> This would be sufficient to raise total fertility by an amount of the order of 10% if no further decline in married fertility took place, and if the extra married women produced children at the same rate at those marrying when marriage was less popular.

Up to the last few years our statistical experience has not included any instance of stabilization of fertility rates over a long period. There is plenty of evidence, however, that the rate of fall varies with the level of fertility and becomes slower when fertility is very low. We cannot from this assume that there is a level below which reproduction rates will never fall, nor that if there should be such a limit, we know what it is. Small social groups can be found whose reproduction rates are far below those hitherto recorded for any large country. From the small amount of information we have, it seems probable that fertility in Britain during the period of recovery from the depression declined more slowly than in previous years, and that this is consistent with the very low fertility rate which had then been reached. During the war it seems

TABLE I.<sup>5</sup> NET REPRODUCTION RATES, ENGLAND AND WALES AND SCOTLAND, 1931-1944

Year	England and Wales		Scotland
	Unofficial	(b) Official (making allowances for a further improvement in mortality).	
1931	.805		.971 <sup>6</sup>
1932	.779		.923 <sup>7</sup>
1933	.738	.747	.881 <sup>8</sup>
1934	.758	.766	.919
1935	.704	.764	.904
1936	.773	.774	.911
1937	.782	.785	.901
1938	.805	.810	.932
1939	.807	.808	.924
1940	.753	.772	.896
1941		.761	.895
1942		.853	
1943		.903	
1944		.990	

of the war period was somewhat below that of the immediate pre-war years. Due to the numerous arbitrary assumptions and unavoidable errors in this method of approach, the conclusion is a most tentative one. Even if it were to be confirmed, it still remains

<sup>5</sup> Source: Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1942-1944.

<sup>6</sup> Glass "Population Policies & Movements," p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

\* This does not mean that the number of annual marriages could be maintained at the level of the peak years, since the supply of unmarried women would be rapidly exhausted.

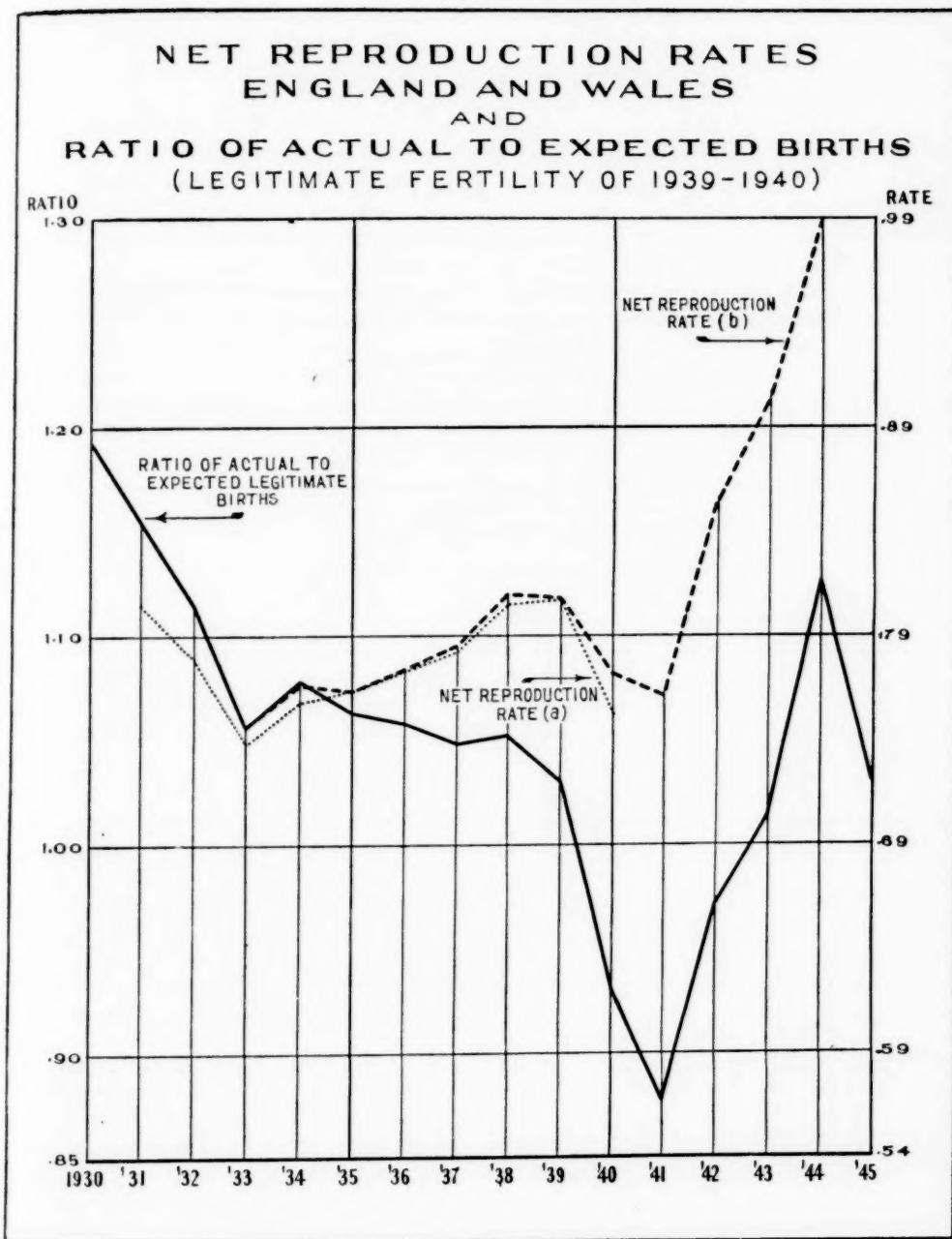


FIGURE 4

that the rise can be entirely accounted for by a previous increase in marriage frequency. Possibly there has even been some further decline in the long-term trend. The

immediate post-war period will probably see, as after the First World War, another boom in marriages and consequently in births. The most plausible guess that can be

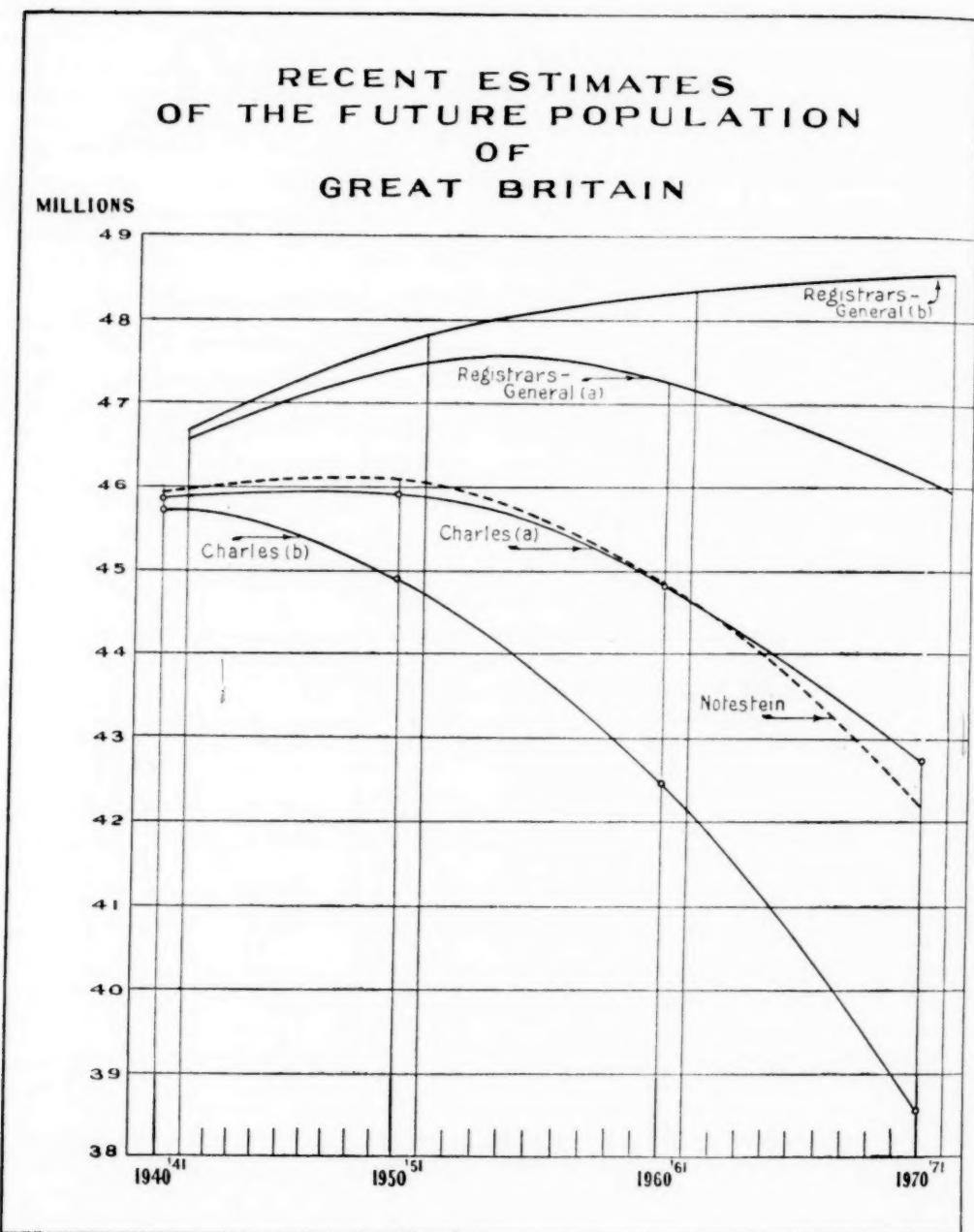


FIGURE 5

made at the present time about the future of British reproduction rates is that, from a long term standpoint, some further decline may be expected, but that it is likely to be at a slower rate than in previous years.

#### ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATION

Several workers have given concrete form to present trends in fertility and mortality and have outlined possibilities for the future in the form of estimates of the future popula-

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tion. Some of the better known population projections are those of Charles, Notestein and the Registrars-General of England and Scotland. Table II and Figure 5 show population figures to 1971 according to five estimates. The estimates shown give a series of possible populations for 1970-71 differing by as much as ten million. They range from the highest official estimate which assumes 700,000 annual births, rising to 770,000, together with continued immigration and very favourable mortality, to the lowest estimate which illustrates the effect of a continued decline in fertility at the steep rate of 1921-33.

Britain and Northern Ireland is 333,215. The net excess of population since 1931, taking into account migration and war losses, may be of the order of a quarter million. When we compare the actual course of events to date with those which have been assumed in making forecasts, we see that the number of births has in fact been in excess of the most optimistic official estimate, so that those projections which assumed constant fertility and mortality of the immediate pre-war period, together with net immigration, have corresponded most closely to the actual population of today.

Are we justified then in thinking that the

TABLE II. RECENT ESTIMATES OF THE FUTURE POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN  
(000's)  
Population, National Registration, Sept. 29th, 1939—45,559

	(1) Charles (a)	(2) Charles (b)	(3) Notestein	(4) Registrars- General (a)	(5) Registrars- General (b)
1940	45,881	45,705	45,950		
1941				46,565 ± 25	46,604 ± 12
1950	45,913	44,899	46,110		
1951				47,501 ± 280	47,835 ± 120
1960	44,809	42,485	44,820		
1961				47,192 ± 805	48,376 ± 344
1970	42,704	38,559	42,190		
1971				45,980 ± 1,579	48,595 ± 664

(1) Base-year 1935. Constant Fertility and Mortality of 1933.

(2) Base-year 1935. Declining fertility and mortality.

(3) Base-year 1931. Declining fertility and mortality.

(4) Base-year 1937. Constant fertility 1934-37, declining mortality, immigration.

(5) Base-year 1937. Constant annual births, 700,000. Declining mortality, immigration.

Sources: Charles, "The Future Population of Great Britain," Political Arithmetic, ed. L. Hogben. Notestein, "The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union." "Current Trend of Population in Great Britain." London, Day, 1942. Cmd. 6358.

Of the estimates which have been made, only the official forecasts and one by Glass<sup>10</sup> allow for net immigration. If we discount the immigration balance of the war years as being of a non-permanent nature, we are left with a net inward balance since 1931 of over half a million. On the other hand, neither the current population figures nor any projections have taken account of war deaths occurring outside Great Britain. The official figure for killed and missing in the armed forces and merchant marine of Great

official high estimate of future population is now the most probable forecast? The analysis attempted earlier suggests that a continuance of the high war time level of births would necessitate a real increase in fertility which, so far as we can tell, has not occurred. The Registrars-General based their highest forecasts on the likelihood of a concerted and presumably successful attempt to avoid a threatened decline in population. It would be highly anti-social to rule out the possibility of such success, since in fact one of the major objectives of population analysis is to avert the consequences

<sup>10</sup> Glass: *op. cit.* Ch. VIII.

of undesired trends. But as the highest apparent fertility recorded in Britain in recent years came, not after any policy directed to that end, but after four years of disastrous and total war, there is no evidence that any permanent social changes have occurred or are being planned which would achieve a fertility rate adequate for replacement. If this is so, then the highest population forecasts must still be regarded as unlikely of attainment. We can, however, regard the events of the war years as corroborating the generalization arrived at by Notestein from a study of European populations, that low fertility rates decline less rapidly than high rates. So the lowest forecasts, which assumed a further rapid decline, can also be regarded as improbable.

Two estimates starting from different bases, and assuming, on the one hand, constant fertility at the low depression level and, on the other hand, slowly declining fertility from the higher 1938-39 level, both result in a population of between 42 and 43 million for Great Britain in 1970, decreasing at the rate of about .5% per annum. For the present there does not seem to be any reason to discard forecasts of this type, suitably adjusted for migration movements, as a representation of the most probable course of events. When the postwar boom and recession in births has passed, we shall be in a position to make a more reasoned assessment of the future. Until then, it appears that in 1970 the population of Great Britain will be less than it is at the present and may be decreasing fairly rapidly.

#### SOME ASPECTS OF THE POST-WAR SITUATION

In comparison with the major problems of the post-war period—primarily, for all the world, the evolution of a world government to avert collective suicide, and secondarily, for Britain, restoration of the ravages of war and adjustment to changed conditions of international trade—British demographic problems seem of secondary importance. Yet if we accept provisionally a reproduction rate at least 25% below replacement level, some deductions follow which could affect plans for the immediate

future. It is now fairly generally accepted that a declining population with its ultimately increasing burden of dependency and lack of adequate stimulus provided by the new generation, is not a prospect to be welcomed.

One of the best-established generalizations of population research is that families are relatively larger on farms and are smallest in metropolitan areas. The absence of any outstanding rural-urban differential in Britain confirms rather than otherwise the importance of agriculture in determining the reproductive level of a country. In 1931 only 20% of the population in England and Wales was rural, and only 6.4% was engaged in agriculture, so that the rural districts are largely suburban in character. In Scotland the proportion rural was somewhat higher, but large tracts of the Highlands and Islands are derelict areas. In those parts of Britain where agriculture still flourishes, e.g., the fertile wheat lands of eastern England, Aberdeen and Wigtown, areas of intensive temporary grass and dairying in Scotland, reproduction rates were still fairly high.

Britain began to depend on imported food as far back as the beginning of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the last war about 30% of all food was home produced. Heroic efforts dictated by the necessities of war raised the amount by about 70%,<sup>11</sup> but substantial imports were still necessary to maintain adequate nutrition. While the loss of foreign unearned income may result in a difficult transition period, there seems no reason to doubt the capacity of Britain to produce efficiently goods needed to pay for imported food under reasonably free conditions of international trade. But the process of becoming an almost completely industrialized nation has now reached its logical conclusion. Britain will be in the same position as most large manufacturing cities. It will have to import not only food but also population; or else decline in numbers. While perhaps it would be absurd to advocate wholly uneconomic production of agricultural commodities, in order at the

<sup>11</sup> Statistics relating to the war effort of the United Kingdom, Cmd 6564.

same time to provide nurseries, the production of many commodities, particularly perishable foods, could be expanded even more than was done in war time. A check to the decline of agriculture is by no means a sufficient answer to the population problem. Continuing advances in technology and their extended application mean that from a global standpoint less and less people will be employed in food production. Indeed, unless this happens, a rise in the dangerously low standard of living of the greater part of the world's population is impossible. But for a country to abandon agriculture altogether is to give itself a handicap so severe that any attempt to reach a stationary population might as well be abandoned. The revitalization of British agriculture is suggested as the first item in the post-war plan, instead of as always, the last item on the agenda.

Tied in with the place of agriculture in the life of Britain is the question of redistribution of population. In 1935 approximately two-fifths of the population of Great Britain lived in the seven million-mark conurbations. In general, cities of this size do not replace themselves, but four of the British conurbations, Glasgow, Merseyside, Tyneside, and Birmingham, had in 1931 gross reproduction rates above those for Scotland and England respectively, and the first three were almost certainly above replacement level. While size of urban group is probably a factor affecting the size of the family, it is primarily higher incomes and a greater proportion of white collar workers which are responsible for the low fertility of metropolitan cities. The high fertility rates of Glasgow and Liverpool are the result of living conditions intolerable to a socially conscious nation. The Barlow report, approaching the urban problem more directly from the standpoint of health and welfare of the present inhabitants, deplored the existing amount of congestion and recommended some dispersal of the most crowded urban populations. It also suggested direct action to stem the continuing flow of population to London and the South-East Counties. The prime difficulty in the way of relieving the present

situation and at the same time restoring a more satisfactory balance between industry and agriculture is that the present density of Great Britain is 518 persons per square mile. Dispersal of the urban populations on the lines recommended by the Barlow report would seriously encroach on good agricultural land and might threaten the scenic amenities which are one of Britain's most precious possessions.

The concept of an optimum population has little meaning apart from a rationally planned national economy, now within the realm of practical politics, and also a rationally planned global economy, a prospect more remote. But considerations of sheer space suggest that a somewhat smaller population might be easier to plan for within the existing national limits. This raises the question of migration policy for the next few years. Comparison of densities suggests a possible transfer of population to less densely populated areas. But migrants tend to be young men and women in the most productive years. The one irreparable loss to Britain, in common with the other belligerent countries, has been the deaths of her young men at just these ages. While the Dominions, particularly those with little capacity for native population increase, might welcome migrants from the mother country, those who would be likely to move will be urgently needed at home. So that, apart from those individuals to whom the need for elbow-room is an over-riding consideration, it is unlikely that large scale migration movements either in or out are likely to occur or to be encouraged.

While a smaller population might be more appropriate to the land area of Britain, control of the environmental factors affecting family size to avert a declining population remains a primary national concern. When we are able to analyze and digest it, the experience of the war years may provide some useful leads. Confused by the short-term association between prosperity and a rising birth rate, we habitually shut our eyes to the overwhelming evidence of all research since 1894, that in the long run, poverty, ignorance, and squalor have pro-

duced adequate or excessive numbers of children while prosperity, education, and gracious living have produced too few.

Nine-tenths of current population policy is concerned with the provision of a national minimum standard of life and is almost wholly unconnected with incentives toward larger families. When due allowance is made for the boom effect associated with a war, the fact that the birth rate did not fall more catastrophically in Britain prompts us to ask whether in fact some less obvious satisfactions were present, or some powerful taboos removed. The sense of a common

purpose, the feeling that there was a place for everyone and that everyone was needed may have counted for more than the mere fact of multiplicity of jobs. Closing down of channels for ostentatious expenditure and diversion of purpose from planning for a shadowy material future may have directed interest toward immediate realisable human contacts. Whatever our ultimate analysis may be, we would do well to turn to a consideration of these psychological antecedents of family attitudes which are not expressed in verbal rationalisations.

## POPULAR LOGIC: A METHODOLOGICAL SUGGESTION

ARNOLD M. ROSE  
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**S**TUDENTS of society have often observed a tendency for various parts of a culture to be dependent on each other in a logical fashion, and some students have used this observation as a methodological rule for the study of a given culture. The functional anthropologists have made greatest use of this rule. Among sociologists, Sumner ("drive toward consistency") and Durkheim ("function") have been outstanding in their reliance on it.

It is easy to see how an emphasis on the logical consistency between various aspects of a culture can be perverted. Such a rule tends to bias a scientist in the direction of assuming that the society he is studying is static. If some custom or institution has a "function" it cannot be dispensed with, so some students have said. A bias of this sort is especially serious in the study of a rapidly changing society such as our own.

Nevertheless, there are certain areas of our culture which can profitably be studied in terms of an assumption of logical arrangement of parts. It is not the purpose of this article to present a comprehensive list of these areas, but to suggest the possibilities of this approach in the field of popular ideology. Certain methodological rules will be suggested for the study of popular ideology.

Perhaps the approach works best in those areas of culture which are most static, but evidence will be offered to prove that the approach has some value for the study of non-static aspects of culture.

In a study of the attitudes of whites toward Negroes in the United States,<sup>1</sup> it was found that Southern whites had a systematic and integrated "theory" about Negroes that pervaded most of their actions and words with respect to Negroes. This popular theory has its keystone in the doctrine that no Negro blood can be allowed to infiltrate into the white race because the Negro race is inherently inferior to the white race. The doctrine is used to justify all sorts of separation between the races and all sorts of discrimination against Negroes. It is not claimed that a sincere belief in this doctrine is the "real reason" why Southern whites act as they do toward Negroes, but it is claimed that the doctrine will be found to be behind most arguments and rationalizations given by Southerners to explain why they act as they do toward Negroes. The postulation of the doctrine permitted the students to discern two important corol-

<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

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laries, both of which were later substantiated by facts: (1) Southern whites exhibit emotional reaction to violation of the rules of separation in a degree which corresponds to the closeness of the violation in question to violation of the sex taboo. For example, there is greater reaction to a case of a Negro and a white eating together than to a case of a Negro and a white working at similar jobs in different locations. (2) Southern whites are willing to compromise and let Negroes have equal privileges in certain areas of life to a degree which corresponds to the distance of connection between the areas in question and the area of sex relations between Negro men and white women. For example, Southern whites are more willing to permit economic equality than social equality.

Another sphere of life where there is a highly developed popular theory behind social behavior is the Army. Based perhaps on the feudal distinction between nobility and commoners is the distinction found in many modern armies, including the United States Army, between officers and enlisted men. The heart of the theory is that officers are gentlemen and that enlisted men are not gentlemen. Most activities in the Army are primarily determined by that distinction. One can almost deduce the implications of the theory without knowing the facts, and then find that the facts substantiate the logical deductions. Some examples: (1) Officers can be trusted to carry out any orders; enlisted men cannot be trusted and a constant and detailed check-up must be made to see that orders are carried out. (2) No enlisted man can become an officer through promotion; this fiction is maintained in the American Army by giving an enlisted man an honorable discharge a day before he is to be commissioned. (3) An officer can use an enlisted man to perform personal services for him, even though that is contrary to official Army regulations. (4) One of the most severe punishments meted out to officers who have violated orders or rules is dishonorable discharge from the Army (depriving him of his status of "gentleman"). But such punishment alone is practically

never given to an enlisted man (dishonorable discharge is always accompanied by a prison sentence).

Many other logical implications of both these theories could be stated, but enough have been given to illustrate their general nature. Also, other examples could be given of the sway of complex, logical, popular theories in other areas of modern society.

Thus, in certain areas of our culture, it would seem that a complex, logical ideology—which may be called a "popular theory"—can be used to predict all sorts of behavior. Like all ideal types, popular theories do not allow for perfect prediction: other influences come into play and changes occur all the time. Enough can be predicted, however, to make recognition of the popular theory an essential for understanding the area of culture. The existence of popular theories would suggest that there is a tendency for people to think, and to organize their social behavior, logically and systematically.

The two examples given of the logical character of group thought are areas where relatively little social change has occurred for scores of years. A somewhat different sort of example will be given to illustrate the logical character of group thought in areas where change is rapid. In a study of rumor,<sup>2</sup> the hypothesis found most adequate—out of a half dozen proposed by different writers—to explain the growth and spread of that short-lived phenomenon was that in terms of a rumor's usefulness in filling in logical gaps in public information. When something is of interest and importance to a group of people, and the regular sources of news do not provide adequate information about it, people are inclined to blow up little clues into a full-fledged story which plausibly ("logically") explains what is happening with respect to the thing of interest. The rumor's truth or falsity depends on the adequacy of the clues and of the popular logic involved.

Perhaps we are misusing the word "logic" in this article. What we mean to point out is that group thinking and action seem to be

<sup>2</sup> Arnold M. Rose, "A Study of Rumor" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Chicago, 1940).

based on deductions from premises, whether the premises be true or false. The deductions are made by various people who come up against different situations, and if their deductions seem to follow from the basic premises—which are accepted by most members of the group—they become group practices. What we are talking about, then, is not the logic of the logicians, but what might be called "popular logic." When it is commonly said that the masses of the people do not think "logically," what is meant is that the factual *premises* of their thinking are false or that they confuse factual *premises* with value *premises*. Given the premises as they are, group thinking does involve logical deduction from these premises. If this statement is true, a suggestion for methodology may also be made. When studying an area of group behavior, an effort must be made to determine the premises of the group thought behind the behavior. When these premises are found, the behavior will be seen to have a certain consistency and logic when initially it seemed disconnected and irrational. The main value of such a procedure is that it allows for prediction as to how people will usually act under certain conditions. The main weaknesses of such a procedure are: (1) It may lead to an exaggeration of the stability and consistency of the behavior. (2) It is not applicable to wide areas of behavior.

There are probably several ways in which the basic premises of a popular theory can be discerned by the student. One technique will be described here. Since a popular theory is logical, any apparently odd, inconsistent, or illogical statements or practices on the part of many members of a group should serve as clues to the premises. That is, if the end result of popular thinking is seemingly odd, inconsistent, or illogical, and yet it is based on logical deduction, the premises must be the source of the apparent peculiarities, and an analysis of the end results will lead to the premises. Oddness, inconsistency, and illogicality are noticed by the observer

to the extent that he does not work under the same premises that the group he is studying works under. Such objectivity may be a result of contact with a different culture or of ability to divorce oneself sufficiently from one's own culture to look at it as an outsider would look at it.

Examples may be the best way to explain how apparently odd, inconsistent, or illogical statements or practices serve as clues to the basic premises of a popular theory. In the case of the Southerners' attitudes toward Negroes, there may be noted such practices as refusal to call Negroes "Mr." or "Mrs." as revulsion to eating at the same table with them but no revulsion to having them serve the food, as giving as the ultimate and unanswerable argument to a plea for equality of almost any sort the equivalent of "Would you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" In the case of the theory behind Army organization, the observer may note such practices as officers getting around regulations insofar as they consider it useful or desirable while at the same time insisting upon rigid adherence to regulations on the part of enlisted men, as officers calling enlisted men by their first names but forbidding any reciprocal intimacy, as officers regarding it as their privilege to ask personal favors of enlisted men but of never reciprocating in the same manner. In the case of rumors, the clue is the rumor itself and it serves to lead the observer to the gap in public information which is considered important.

Sociology emerged as a separate discipline partly as an attempt to account for certain non-rational factors in human behavior. While some sociologists have pointed out the consistency within a given culture, the assumption of inherent non-rationality in the things they were studying led most sociologists to ignore that fact that there is a certain "popular logic" in many of these things. If the existence of this popular logic is recognized, it may be found useful in several kinds of sociological investigation.

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## THE WARD-ROSS CORRESPONDENCE II 1897-1901

EDITED BY BERNHARD J. STERN  
*Columbia University*

THE letters between Lester F. Ward and Edward A. Ross in this series continue the collection previously published in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, June, 1938, pp. 362-401. The Ross letters are part of the Ward manuscripts bequeathed by Ward to Ross who in turn gave them to the Library of Brown University where Ward taught from 1906 to 1913. Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made by the editor to the Social Science Research Council for a grant-in-aid to do research on these manuscripts at Brown University; to the staff of the Library of the University for its cordial co-operation; and to Professor Ross for making available Ward's letters to him.

*Ross to Ward, Stanford University, California, April 25, 1897.*

Dynamic Sociology, 2nd Ed., has just come to hand and I have even now finished the introductory preface. It is perfectly fascinating and will make a racy note in all reviews and notices of the book. I have no doubt that this romantic history of a sober scientific book will be lifted out of its place and printed separately in many an American newspaper. I am so glad you wrote this preface.<sup>1</sup> Surely a book is entitled to all the aid its enemies give it. I feel certain that this new edition will mark a close of the popular

<sup>1</sup>The preface reads in part:

"The work itself has had a history some parts of which are unique. . . . I refer to the reception it has had in one of the greatest empires on the globe—that of the Tsars. I know not why, but from some subtle cause the doctrines embodied in *Dynamic Sociology* have possessed from the first a peculiar charm for the Slavic mind. . . .

The work was extensively reviewed in the liberal journals of Russia. . . .

Toward the close of 1890 I received a letter from Mr. Nikolaeff asking my permission to translate the work into Russian. It was, of course, promptly granted, and I heard nothing further of the matter until I received the following letter, which I have

mind with the book. It has often made me indignant to see how small men, seeing that Dyn. Sociology lay somewhat aside from the beaten highways of popular thought, have ventured with impunity to pilfer freely from it and offer its riches in the market place as their own. Now however the stream of way-

the writer's permission to insert here:

Breton Cottage, Baddeck, Cape Breton  
Island, Nova Scotia

Wednesday, July 15, 1891

"Dear Mr. Ward: Once before I had the pleasure of giving you some news with regard to the reception that your book 'Dynamic Sociology' had met with in Russia. I send you today a copy of an English paper, edited by my dear friend, Felix Volkhovski, in which you will find another very complimentary reference to your work. I most heartily congratulate you. In this prosaic, indifferent age it is not every man who achieves the distinction of having his books burned by order of a Council of Ministers in the mightiest empire on earth! I have tried in my humble way to serve the cause of liberty in Russia, but I haven't been able to do it with ability enough to get my writings burned. You are evidently a very dangerous man, but I am, nevertheless, with sincere respect and esteem, faithfully yours,"

GEORGE KENNAN

The "Complimentary reference" was as follows:

"According to the 'Daily News,' 'the Russian censorship is passing all bounds in its rigor.' . . . Our own correspondent, alluding to the censorship of books and magazines, makes the following statement: The Russian edition, in 1,200 copies, of the first volume of L. Ward's 'Social Dynamics' (translated by Nikolaev), the property of the publisher Soldatenkov, has been burned by order of the Council of Ministers. The publisher's loss is reckoned at 3,000 rubles, as (so it is said) the second volume is already translated." (From "Free Russia," New York and London, July, 1891). . . .

Returning to the original question, my own principal concern in the matter was to learn on what grounds the action of the Russian Government was based. In this I was sincere, because I had always admired the Russian people, and, while deeply sympathizing with those who are oppressed in that country, I had not approved their acts of violence, and had even been disposed to look upon the so-called "despotism" as, in a sense at least, a

farers is running nearer to it, and such plundering will become more risky and less profitable. The demand for a new edition is significant. The period of being far in advance of the age is, I think, about over for you. Instead of being as in 1883 a *vox clamantis in deserto* I prophesy your hair will not be well blanched before you find

temporary necessity, in view of the immense mass of ignorance and superstition that had to be dealt with in that vast empire. But of all this there was not a word in *Dynamic Sociology*, that country not being once mentioned or alluded to in the whole work. I was hence sorely puzzled to know what had been my offense. I therefore entered upon a systematic inquiry, but all was conjecture. Of guesses there was no lack, and many such were volunteered. I received numerous letters on the subject, some of which were rather amusing. The following will serve as a sample of the latter class:

"I see it reported that you are at a loss to understand why your book on Dynamic Sociology should be interdicted in Russia. It occurs to me that the whole trouble is in the title. Don't you suppose that if you were Czar you would feel shaky about any book which on the fact of it seemed to be a compound of socialism and dynamite?" . . .

Early in 1896, when it had been decided to issue a second edition, I again wrote to Dr. (Theodor) Sigel (Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Warsaw) with whom I had kept up a friendly and highly profitable correspondence, and informed him of my intention to embody in the preface a brief account of the history of the book, asking him whether he had learned anything further, and for his advice as to what I had better say on the subject. He replied somewhat at length under date of September 30. The following extracts from that letter give his matured judgment in the matter:

"I am always completely at your disposition, and shall take all possible means to know the real causes of the suppression of the Russian translation of 'Dynamic Sociology.' . . . I presume, however, that my inquiries . . . will be without result. I have myself no relations with the Censure at St. Petersburg, and you probably remember the answer of the president of the Warsaw Censure Committee, which I gave you. . . . As to my own opinion on the suppression, I have already expressed it. I am profoundly convinced that it is not the strong advocacy of popular education and still less the alliteration of Dynamic and Dynamite. . . . Your book was probably considered as spreading atheism, and this was the sole motive of rejection. . . . It is only the spreading of Dynamic Sociology among the bulk of our people which was regarded by the Censure as premature."

Preface to the Second Edition of *Dynamic Sociology*, New York, 1926, 2 vols., vol. 1, x-xx.

yourself captain of a host and a dweller in populous places.

It was all too kind of you to remember me with a copy. It was more than you ought to have done and I am very grateful to you for it. I was delighted to learn from your preface how "Psychic Factors" has caught on in Russia.<sup>2</sup> I do not understand the special Slavic affinity for your ideas. Perhaps the very suppression of thought creates an appetite for an absolutely honest and fearless treatment of problems.

Since I wrote to you last I have blossomed out as a "Professor of Sociology" pure and simple. The ancient title of "Economic Theory and Finance" which described my chair had ceased to characterize my work and Pres. Jordan took occasion after the horror excited in the East by my free silver advocacy to remove me as far as possible from all connection with Finance by making me Prof. of Sociology. I thus am officially joined to the small and very select fraternity of professional sociologists. I still give one course in Economics, however.

This has been a very busy and successful year for me. I have been in splendid health and have turned off a lot of work. Besides my monetary contributions I wrote an article for the Jan. number of the *R. of Reviews*,<sup>3</sup> an article for the *Independent*,<sup>4</sup> of which I sent you a copy, an article for the *Outlook*<sup>5</sup> which has not yet appeared, an article on Mob Mind which has been submitted to the *Popular Science Monthly*<sup>6</sup> and three articles

<sup>2</sup> Ward says in his preface: "Further illustrating the unaccountable hold that the general class of ideas that I represent has taken upon the Russian mind, the fact may be properly mentioned here that no less than four separate translations into the Russian language of the *Psychic Factors of Civilization* have been made, all independently and almost simultaneously. . . ." Preface to the Second Edition of *Dynamic Sociology*, New York, 1926, 2 vols., vol. 1, xxii.

<sup>3</sup> "Preferably, Retire the Sherman Notes," *Review of Reviews*, vol. 15, January, 1897, 52.

<sup>4</sup> "Roots of Discontent," *Independent*, vol. 49, January, 1897, 108-109.

<sup>5</sup> "The Educational Function of the Church," *Outlook*, vol. 56, August, 1897, 1036-1040.

<sup>6</sup> "The Mob Mind," *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 51, July, 1897, 390-398.

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on Social Control.<sup>7</sup> I am also working at an article on Custom Imitation.

The hiatus in my Social Control Series was due to a belated MS. The seventh number appears in the May number. I am now working on the July number which will treat of Art. The whole series will be twelve or thirteen. The undertaking steadily grows upon me. I am more than ever convinced that I have got hold of the end of a thread which will enable us to unravel many tangles in the development of culture. I find Social Control a key that unlocks many doors, a comb that straightens many a snarl. Although I shall have printed a couple of hundred pages by the time I finish I am only able dogmatically to lay down my theory of each element. I have no space to prove or illustrate from history. I need on an average to treat each topic three times as extensively as I now can do in order to define and establish my position.

Just as soon as I finish the series, which will be next spring, I shall go to work to rewrite the whole thing with a view to making a book. I expect to go abroad in the summer of 1898 in order to employ a year in first class libraries making my book. I do not see how I can escape making it an affair of 600 or more pages. I am anxious to prove my theses with such a wealth of authorities and evidence that there will be no chance for someone else to write upon it and thrust my exposition of the ideas to one side.

I am more and more aware I shall have to make all sorts of queer investigations in order to do justice to my subject. I doubt very much if I can at all finish the book during my year in Europe. It may take my spare time for a year after my return.

When I come East in about a year I shall be anxious to listen to your most ferocious criticism of my ideas. I have not yet been able to get the criticism I need from the few competent.

This summer I shall stay at home largely

and write as I am not fagged out . . .

*Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., May 2, 1897.*

I received yesterday your delightful letter. I think I am your debtor in matter of correspondence, but as we hear so frequently about family affairs I have been a little shy about writing you and seeming to impose an obligation to answer when I know how busy you are.

If you have read the preface to the second Edition of Dynamic Sociology you have read all it contains that is new to you. The only other thing I did was to correct some fifty typographical errors, which you would not notice.

I am delighted that you are at last permitted to teach *sociology*. I look upon the change in the light of a *promotion*. You are cut out to work in a broad field such as Sociology alone affords. It is the science of the future.

You certainly have done a lot of work. I have not seen all your articles. Your Social Control is a big thing. I am wondering how far you have had time to acquaint yourself with the sociological work that is being done in Europe, especially in France. Through reprints of my various papers which I have freely sent over there I have been able to obtain direct from the authors a large number of the leading works, such as Tarde's *Imitation and Logique Sociale*, De Greef's works, 6 vols. of them, Gumplovitz's *Rassenkampf and Sociologie*, Lilienfeld's *Gedanken über die Socialwissenschaft* (5 vols.), Novicow's *Luttes entre Societes*, and Gaspillages, Roberty's works, etc., etc. Of course I have as yet made little impression upon all these, but have read several volumes, including Tarde's *Imitation*, which comes nearer than anything else I presume to your main thought.

I am glad you are going to Europe next year. I hope to go then too, but can only stay a short time. I have been made a member of the International Institute of Sociology and I want to attend its meeting next year. Rose and Satie hope to be there much longer than I can be, and you will doubtless meet

<sup>7</sup> The articles mentioned by Ross refer to the series in the *Amer. J. Sociol.* entitled "Social Control" which ran from March, 1896, to January, 1897, from May, 1897, to May, 1898, from January, 1900, to January, 1901.

them there. I anticipate your visit on your way over and we will have a good talk.

I am giving a course of ten lectures here at Columbia, before the graduate class in International Law, on the "History of Sociology." I have only one hour per week and have already given 7 lectures. I have spent considerable time on them and the students are enthusiastic.

I gave up trying to go to Russia, and have accepted Dr. Small's invitation to give the two summer courses at Chicago. If you should feel like writing me between now and August I would be very glad to have you give me some idea of what the thing is like. University lecturing is all new to me, and I am afraid I may fail to give satisfaction. It is not the lecturing that bothers me, but the pedagogic part—assigning tasks, examining, quizzes, etc. Dr. Small says I must *make them work*. . . .

*Ross to Ward, Stanford University, California, May 8, 1897.*

My Dear Uncle Lester: I am so glad you are going to lecture at Chicago. I know how bothersome it must be for one pursuing a science to give time and thought to devising the various tricks in the trade of teaching. I have given fifteen terms of courses dealing with sociology and so I have ventured to enclose a statement which specifies the various kinds of work I set my students at and the ways in which I test that work. It took me three or four years of experience to arrive at some of them so it may be they will prove suggestive to you. In any case the waste basket is at hand.

In Chicago last summer I had about 18 pupils in one class and 22 in another. Of course the summer term is not like the other terms in point of attendance. On the other hand you will get a set of earnest mature men and women especially capable of comprehending and appreciating good courses in sociology. Many are preachers and teachers and have learned to think. You will find the preachers much more amenable to reason than you would think. Many of them are really eager to get scientific points of view.

Yes, I am keeping track of the magnificent work the French are doing in Sociology. I have about 160 volumes in my study connected in some way with sociology of which 32 are French works most of them recent. I got one batch last June and another in February. I haven't read more than ten of them but I shall read some this summer. Tarde impresses me as a great constructive mind and his works have done more for me than anything since Dynamic Sociology. A work that I esteem very highly is Durkheim's "De la Division du Travail Social." Another very strong book is La Pouge's "Les Sélections Sociales." Novicow and De Grefe have not been particularly helpful to me.

I am very much encouraged that you like "Social Control." I am now writing on "Art" as an instrument of social control and the labor I have put upon it is enormous. Most of it will be entirely imperceptible to one reading the article. . . .

Enclosure:

#### THE CONDUCT OF COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY

##### *Work*

1. LECTURES. I think two or three opportunities should be given during each lecture for the class to react by proffering questions, criticisms, objections or instances. Sometimes at the close of a line of demonstration I ask the students whether or not it strikes them as sound; again I call for instances of a certain social phenomenon that have fallen under their personal observation; or I ask them to make applications to social life of some principle I have just set forth; or ask them to draw the conclusions that follow from the facts or reasoning I have presented.
2. SYLLABUS. I collect a syllabus fee, varying according to the number in the class from 50 cents to one dollar, and with the proceeds provide from one to three mimeographed syllabus sheets for each lecture. They are distributed before or at the close of the lecture. I enclose sample.
3. TEXTS. In some courses I specify certain texts which the students must procure, in

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which daily lessons are assigned and on which they must be prepared for quiz or examination.

4. READING. At entrance upon each division of the subject I insert in the syllabus a full bibliography. References on particular points are also inserted at proper place. If the text work is insufficient or if no practicable text is to be had, I demand liberal reading among the references and every week or two require each student to hand in a slip stating the references he has read.

5 PAPERS. An example of a long paper is an extensive critique of Kidd's *Social Evolution*, each is required to hand in evidence of having read the book critically. The reading and preparation of the critique represent three or four weeks work (2 hrs a week course). Examples of shorter papers handed in on a week or half week's notice are as follows: after several lectures on Mob Mind I required a paper of not over 400 words presenting the best means of preventing the development of mob mind in a people. After lectures on Public Opinion I called for papers answering the question "How would you go to work to develop a sentiment against a proposed prize fight?" Another brief paper required showing the qualities and elements that make a man a leader. I require some original work like this of the class, perhaps four or five times a semester.

#### Tests

1. QUIZ. About one-fifth of the time spent with the class I devote to quizzing on the assigned texts. The quizzes are never announced beforehand, and I never call upon the students in any order lest they should get the hang of it.

2. NOTEBOOKS. In large classes where it is hard to keep track of the work of each one and where the lectures predominate I announce to the class at the beginning that their note books containing notes taken on the lectures must be submitted at the close. This stimulates lazy or inattentive students. I use this test only occasionally.

3. EXAMINATION. One or two examinations during the semester covering texts and lectures.

*Ward to Ross. Chicago, August 27, 1897.*

I have got myself into a horrible scrape and I do not know how I can get out of it. In conversation with some friend or friends of yours (I forget whom) since I got here, I was asked if your free silver views had affected your standing at Stanford. I replied that they had not, but on the contrary you had been advanced to a much better chair than the one you formerly had, viz., sociology, in which you had a broader scope for your talents. I do not know what else I said, but I faintly remember saying that when the change was made last winter you wrote me modestly and rather facetiously that you had been "degraded" (that was your word) to that chair, and that I immediately wrote to you to congratulate you and told you that I considered it a promotion and was delighted. Out of this I suppose, in some "snake-in-the-grass" way has been "cooked up" the first part of the enclosed paragraph in the Chicago Record for Aug. 26, which must have been two weeks brewing. Two newspaper correspondents have called on me about it representing the *San Francisco Call and Examiner* and the *New York Journal*. I have told them the facts as above, and asked them both to say that I consider Stanford one of the most advanced institutions in the country in the matter of freedom in teaching, and Dr. Jordan as thoroughly imbued with the right spirit on this question. They both promised to do so. Whether they will or not I do not know.

It puts me in an awful hole and I am afraid that both you and Dr. Jordan will think I am a first-class fool if not evil disposed. All I can do is to assure you that this is all the basis there is for the item, and that everything beyond this is absolutely false.

I ought to have written you long ago to thank you for all your trouble about instructing me how to conduct these courses of lectures, and also to condole with you in the loss of your child, which cast a gloom over us all.

I am really having a grand time here and it would be egotistical in a high degree to attempt to give you any idea of my reception here. They gave me a banquet at the

Wellington Hotel the other night which would have spoiled me entirely if there had been anything to spoil. The lecture courses are certainly a grand success and I am amazed at the number that have come from all parts of the country to hear them—about 60. The interest is intense, and so far as one in my position can learn, the satisfaction is complete.

I got a letter from Rose today, and all are well in Washington. How I want to see you and have a grand good talk. I go from here direct to southwestern Kansas into camp for a month and anticipate a splendid rest. But my work here is not exhausting, and the social life is exceedingly pleasant. I had my notes so full before coming that I cannot use them all.

I ought to have said that I received from Prof. Seligman a petition to sign to the Trustees of Brown in the nature of a protest against their action in President Andrews case.<sup>8</sup> It was too late to send it by

<sup>8</sup> According to a faculty protest of July 31, 1897 to the Corporation of Brown University, three members of that body had been designated on June 17 to confer with President Andrews "in regard to the interests of the University." The petition then declares:

"The meaning of these words is perfectly well understood; it is indeed freely acknowledged by members of your body that the committee were expected, under the terms of the resolution appointing them, to remonstrate with the President concerning his utterances upon public affairs (notably on the free coinage of silver) as injurious to the pecuniary interests of the University. Your committee, in the communication which it has addressed to him, has explicitly declared, not only that this was the intent of your vote, but that it was its sole intent; that you desired to express no criticism of his administration and made no other suggestion than that he should forbear to promulgate his views on the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, lest such promulgation repel gifts which might otherwise be received. It is not alleged that he has made speeches or written articles in advocacy of those views; the promulgation from which he is asked to refrain has consisted in the writing of letters, in answer to correspondents, which those correspondents have been left at liberty to publish. Believing it impossible to surrender this minimum of freedom of expression, without doing damage to Brown University and to the general interests of university education, the President has chosen rather to resign his office than to comply with your suggestions." . . .

mail and I telegraphed to add my name. Everybody is thoroughly aroused here on the subject and there is but one opinion. I think the signers of the petition will be mainly "sound money" men. . . .

#### Enclosure

Clipping: *The Chicago Tribune*, Monday August 30, 1897. Vol. III.

#### ROSS' LETTER A BIG JOKE

PROF. WARD EXPLAINS ABOUT SILVER IN STANFORD UNIVERSITY Epistle Informing the Chicago Teacher that the Californian Had Been "Degraded" from the Chair of Finance to that of Sociology Written in a Humorous Vein—Change Really a Promotion—Politics in Colleges Declared to Be Out of Place.

"A mountain has been made out of a molehill," said Professor Lester W. Ward of the University of Chicago last night, when asked about the letter he had received from Professor E. A. Ross of Stanford University relating to the latter's trouble with the Stanford trustees over his free silver views.

(An Open Letter Addressed to the Corporation of Brown University by Members of the Faculty of that Institution. Providence, R.I., 1897. P. 2).

The statement initiated by Professors F. W. Taussig, E. R. A. Seligman referred to by Ward reads in part:

"We hope that no action will be taken by you that could be construed as limiting the freedom of speech in the teaching body of our universities. We believe that no questions should enter except as to capacity, faithfulness, and general efficiency in the performance of appointed duty. To undertake inquiry as to the soundness of opinions expressed on any question, or set of questions, must inevitably limit freedom of expression, tend to destroy intellectual independence, and to diminish public respect for the conclusions of all investigators. . . .

"We therefore beg to express our earnest hope that your action on the proffered resignation of President Andrews will be such as to uphold and affirm, without possibility of misunderstanding, the principle of academic freedom."

On September 1, the Corporation requested that he withdraw his resignation which Andrews did with the assertion that the statement accompanying this request "entirely does away with the scruple which led to my resignation." Andrews remained at Brown one more academic year.

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"In fact," he continued, "the matter has been grossly misrepresented. The report that Professor Ross wrote me that he had been dropped on account of his views on finance is entirely unfounded."

"Some five or six months ago, while I was in Washington, I received a letter from Professor Ross, who, by the way, is a relative of mine, in which he stated that his ideas on the free silver question did not accord with those of the university, and that he had been 'degraded.' He had been transferred, he said, from the chair of economics and finance to that of sociology."

#### *Tone of the Letter Jocular*

"The tone of the latter was jocular throughout, and when he said 'degraded' he intended that I should understand it in just the opposite meaning. To be transferred from the chair of finance to that of sociology is furthest from a degradation. It is plainly a promotion. Professor Ross considered it so, and the letter plainly indicated that he was pleased at the change. I have since understood that the chair of sociology was created at Stanford for him especially."

"Professor Ross and President Jordan are the warmest personal friends and both men are of the broadest minds. For all this they may disagree on the subject of finance. That Professor Ross should be degraded or dropped on this account, however, is preposterous. Stanford University is, in my opinion, one of the broadest colleges in the country, Dr. Jordan is one of the broadest of men, and I don't believe that Professor Ross or any other professor in that institution would be dishonored for expressing his views."

#### *Politics Not Proper in Colleges*

"If the colleges of the country are to be turned into political institutions a deplorable state of affairs has come to pass. I have just signed the petition to the trustees of Brown University for the restoration of Dr. Andrews. Many other prominent professors and students throughout the country have also signed it, and nine-tenths of them are gold-standard men. Our petition does not indicate

that we share Dr. Andrews' views on finance; it is simply intended to show that we favor the freedom to teach according to our own ideas."

Professor Ward was much distressed that the contents of Professor Ross' letter had reached the public as it had and said he would lose no time in writing Professor Ross and Dr. Jordan to set things right. In speaking of the letter to intimate friends he says he always has brought out the fact that Professor Ross wrote in a jocular vein and he is at a loss to know who should have given out the story otherwise. Where the letter is now Professor Ward says he does not know; it may be in Washington and it may have been destroyed, but he remembers its contents perfectly.

*Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Cal., September 4, 1897.*

I hope you will not worry a particle over the absurd newspaper reports that hatched themselves out of a perfectly innocent conversation. I understood from the first just how the rumor must have originated. I saw that it was perfectly natural that you should mention the recognition of sociology recently given here and equally natural that some preternaturally suspicious silver man should fancy he had discovered "a nigger in the woodpile" and proceed to put a wrong construction on the whole matter. At first I thought the canard might hurt me as Mrs. Stanford is ticklish to handle in respect to my continuance and Dr. Jordan has to use lots of tact and skill in carrying out his ideas of academic freedom. I feared she might be irritated by the rumor and hold me responsible. I am now inclined to think however that the whole affair was a good thing. The great interest and feeling excited on the Coast by the rumor will give a clear intimation to the University authorities how much loss of prestige and public respect would be suffered by the University if I were dismissed. I will say no more except to point out that the *ultima ratio* in the University policy is at present the judgment of an old lady who has little comprehension of academic aims and traditions.

I am perfectly delighted to learn of your reception at the University. It has made me indignant to feel that in assemblages of economists you were not awarded the appreciation I knew you deserved. I am so glad that the groups of sociologists who know your writings and appreciate your personality are increasing so rapidly in American universities. The greeting they gave you at Chicago proves that everything is coming your way. We are still in the forenoon of your reputation.

The University is starting in with the largest attendance yet known. I shall have at least 40 or 45 students in my general course in Sociology. Besides this I have a big class in my course on "Education and Society." I expect to elaborate a great deal my lectures on Social Psychology in my general course and as the syllabi will be quite full I hope to save and send to you a complete set of the syllabi.

I shall also send you a copy of the *Popular Science Monthly* containing an article of mine on "Mob Minds." This year I expect to do a lot of writing. Besides my "Social Control" articles I have several articles on soc. psychology I want to work up and publish. I have on the stocks an article on "Custom." I shall soon send a reprint of an article which has just appeared in the "Outlook."

I don't know if I have told you of my plan of going abroad at the end of this year and staying 14 months. I have got to have much better library facilities in order to finish my Social Control in book form and I want to put in a long time at it in the British Museum. . . .

*Ward to Ross.* Washington, D.C., Nov. 7, 1897.

I am looking forward to the happy day when I shall see you *in propria persona* and have a grand talk about all the glorious things that are going on in this truly golden (no reflection on silver) age. I have read all your great contributions to sociology with an intense relish. I put your paper on *Art* at the head, as the one that has furnished me the most stimulus. I made use of it in one of my lectures at Chicago, reading my own

thoughts into it between the lines. I do not doubt that you had the same thoughts while writing it. I can not express it in a letter, but I think you will see what I meant when I told my class that there is no generic difference between an artist (in your sense) and a social reformer—nay a political agitator, say of the type of Henry George; and have you noticed how many artists (lacking as they do, a scientific basis) have turned socialists—Ruskin, Howells, Bellamy, etc?

Your treatment of *crazes* and *fads* is superb! What you say of "half-education" and "half-baked ecstatic people" (*B.S.M.* 397) you took right out of my mouth (I have been at Greenacre!) By the way, has Mr. Osborne called on you yet? I gave him a letter to you. You sum it all up in one sentence: "The spell of ancestors is broken; let us break the spell of numbers." This is in line with my abolition of the aristocracy of brains and dethronement of the god Genius. If we must follow, let us follow the minority, not the mass.<sup>9</sup>

I have had the most inspiring summer of my life. All together I gave exactly 75 lectures between Aug. 12 and Oct. 23. The two regular courses at Chicago included 48 lectures, but in order that all the students might hear all my lectures I consented to give an additional half-hour lecture on Tuesday-Friday of each week. There were 15 of these, making 63. I was required to give one public lecture. Dr. Small told me of this before I left Washington. I had a number of unpublished papers and took along five to select from. I showed them to Dr. S. and he advised me to lay the matter before the class. They made a selection, but were not satisfied with one. There was a Sociological Club and an Educational Club, etc., and each wanted a lecture. I was accommodating, and before they got through they got them all! I had fine audiences every time. In fact,

<sup>9</sup>This passage must be understood in terms of Ward's view that "class distinctions in society are wholly artificial, depend entirely on environing conditions, and are in no sense due to differences in native capacity. Differences in native capacity exist and are as great as they have ever been pictured, but they exist in all classes alike." *Applied Sociology* (New York, 1906). P. 101.

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it began to dawn upon me that I was popular! I was astonished to see how well I was known. Several had written me before I left home that they were coming on purpose to hear me. A number of others told me they had come for that purpose alone. Dr. S. had told me the class would be small, because the second summer term was the Botany Bay of the year. What was my astonishment on first entering the room to be greeted with applause by 40 graduate students! This number was increased almost at the outset by combining the two classes to over 60! Nearly all stayed through.

I do not know whether I am telling you anything new, much less, interesting, but I was given two banquets, expressly in my honor, the first by the gentlemen at the Wellington Hotel (down town), at which (now) President Raymond (whom I had never heard of till I got to Chicago) of West Virginia University, was the principal post-prandial speaker, and revealed the fact that he is one of my special admirers. They made me tell my history and that of Dynamic Sociology. The other banquet was given me by the ladies (with whom for some unimaginable reason I was even more popular than with the men) in Kelly Hall, and Miss Cobb (Pres. Harper's private secretary) responded to the toast "Our Ward." I was funny at least—"so many (19) of us and so few of him" (Mrs. Ottley of Atlanta), etc. etc. You can imagine me. Well, the last day of the course (Sept. 8) I also lectured in the evening in Cobb Hall on "Nature and Nurture," and at the close, to my dismay, the president of the Sociological Club got up and made a set eulogistic speech, and concluded by drawing out of its cloth cover a magnificent gold-headed cane and presenting it to me in the name of my class. It had been kept a perfect secret from me, and you can also imagine my feelings in such a case. On the head of the cane are duly inscribed the words: "Prof. Lester F. Ward, from Class in Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1897." I have not used a cane since my wounds healed<sup>10</sup> but I must say I am proud of this one.

<sup>10</sup> Ward during his service in the Union army in

I do not know but what such things are customary, and you may have been the recipient of still greater honors, but, with more modesty, properly kept them to yourself. I know so little of university life that I suppose I am simply "set up" by a common occurrence. But assuming that it was something a little out of the regular run, what could I have done to call it out? I explain it this way. Those students were all mature-minded men and women. They were all in dead earnest. They came from the four quarters of the continent to get something that they could use in their life work. They must have thought they got it. Many of them told me so. A large number were ordained ministers with warm social sympathies, but feeling the need of a more solid basis for their sermons. Several such told me they had got their first light, and saw for the first time where their path of duty lay. Some of them expected to load up for a crusade against this wicked world and with social reform thunder. They got nothing of the kind, but some of them told me that they felt they had got something as much better as it was different from what they expected. I unfolded to them without reservation my whole *system of a social science*. They felt all the time they were on solid ground. I no more made my bow to public opinion and convention in those lectures than I did in Dynamic Sociology. What surprised me was how easy I found it to walk square up to the most delicate questions, such as religion, and discuss them rationally and scientifically to such a class. I gave no offense, and shocked no one's sensibilities or prejudices. The latter I believe I knocked down like ten-pins.

This grand intellectual season was followed by one almost as long of that absolute peace which attends a geological campaign in a wild country camping and sleeping on the ground under the stars and working in the hills among the rocks full of beautiful plant impressions, of which 45 boxes have just reached Washington. But even in south-

the Civil War was wounded three times at Chancellorsville, once above the right knee and once in each thigh. See: *Young Ward's Diary*, edited by Bernhard J. Stern, New York, 1935, 116.

western Kansas I found to my surprise that I was not unknown. In my camp were three intelligent students of Southwest Kansas College at Winfield, Kansas, at which place I concluded the campaign, and during the three days that I operated in that vicinity, I was induced to give two lectures to the priest-ridden people of puritanical Kansas, in which I tried to wake them up out of their theological slumbers.

Returning to Chicago on Oct. 15, I gave a course of five lectures on Plant Evolution, illustrated by some 60 stereopticon views, before the combined departments of Botany and Geology, in Walker Museum. I had expected to interperse these among my sociological lectures, but the two head professors, Coulter and Chamberlain, who had invited me to do it, said the students were all away, and asked me to stop on my way back, which I did. A number of my sociological students (regular holder-overs) heard them. Pres. Harper was then back, and Miss Cobb and Miss Talbot (who accompanied him to Europe) took me over to see him. He is "perfectly lovely" and invited me to go out to Lake Geneva to the dedication of the great Yerkes Observatory, which happened to take place that week, sending me dead-head tickets to everything. I went.

But I have bragged enough. I got home Oct. 24, and have now got fairly settled down to work. And work I find in abundance, all interesting and inspiring. . . . P.S. Dr. Jordan as you know is here. I saw him in Chicago and he spoke of the newspaper affair and tried to console me for my *faux pas*. I cannot quite feel satisfied with myself, but fear that under identical circumstances I might do the same thing again, so utterly undreamed of was the result. . . .

*Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Cal., March 3, 1898.*

Your letter has remained unacknowledged a long time but I suppose Rosy's letters have informed you that I was suffering from the effects of overwork last fall. This semester I have been persistently underworking and in consequence I have been getting better. The last three or four weeks I have been feeling quite like myself and am sure I shall

end the year in fair condition.

For awhile, however, it was a struggle to keep up my university work and to prepare my successive articles on "Social Control" from issue to issue of the Journal. It was just all I could do to prepare the two last ones and I suspect they will reveal to the critical reader the conditions under which they were written. I didn't want to miss any issue as Small's patience might be unduly tried. I consider him very generous to give me so much space as he has.

I am now so well along with the thirteenth and last article that I am beginning to breathe freely again and feel able to write letters.

Your last letter was a grand one and Rosie and I chortled all over during the reading of it. What a grand time you must have had and how inspiring it was to be so appreciated! In bringing such a man as you in contact with the picked body of students most capable of appreciating such ideas the University of Chicago is doing a great service and "deserves well of the republic." If the National University is founded at Washington<sup>11</sup> as seems quite possible, I trust they will put you at the head of the department of Sociology. I mentioned the matter to Pres. Jordan the other day and he said he would keep the matter in mind and mention it to the proper people at the right time.

Thank you for sending me a copy of the new book.<sup>12</sup> It is exceedingly attractive in appearance and I am sure that publishing it with Macmillan was a good idea. I had the pleasure of recommending the book to a Principals' Round Table at Stockton the other day.

I wonder if you have seen a monograph published as supplement to the Journal of Sociology. It is by Prof. James Hervey Hyslop of Columbia and is entitled "the Science of Sociology."<sup>13</sup> It is an attack on Giddings' contentions regarding the science in the first part of his "Principles" and is

<sup>11</sup> Ward had a sustained interest in the development of a National University see *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, New York, 1918, 6 vols., vol. 4, 324.

<sup>12</sup> *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1898.

<sup>13</sup> *American Journal of Sociology* supplement, vol. 2, May, 1897, 1-67.

really the funniest thing I ever found in the field of sociological literature. It is a protest of the Philosophy and Ethics now against the new science. All this is apropos of the limpid clearness with which in your Outlines you explain the necessity and justification of Sociology.

I shall send you on shortly a set of my syllabi covering my lectures of this year up to the subject of Social Control which I am just entering upon. It will show you how the subject of Social Psychology is shaping itself in mind. You will see that Tarde has influenced me strongly at a number of points. He has taught me a good deal along certain lines but I am working beyond him into my own current of thought. I suspect that after I have got out a book on Social Control I shall perfect the lectures covered by the last three fourths of these syllabi and publish them under the title of "Social Psychology," "The Social Mind" or something of that sort. Then I have another book projected on Education and Society. In fact so much sociological matter is ripening in my mind that I see a whole window of books ahead which demand to be written. It looks as if your hope that I shouuld devote myself to Sociology rather than to economics will be realized. Still I shall not regret that I have done as much in economics as I have. I believe that a sociologist, especially one interested in Social Psychology cannot be too well equipped in economics if for nothing else than to keep him from floating off into cloud land. It will serve as a kind of ballast.

Well, it is settled that I am going abroad for sure next year. I expect to spend six or seven months in the British Museum and then to visit Paris for a month and spend about four months in Italy. I want Rosy to have good opportunities to study art in London and to do art in Italy. I want to make social studies the chief aim of my stay keeping a proper balance between library researches and first hand observations on European society. The questions of social influence and morals will be uppermost in mind as I want to do a great deal toward getting "Social Control" toward completion. I shall have about 220-240 ordinary book pages when I publish the closing article. I

expect to just about double the size of the thing ere I publish. In many instances I have done little more than print an outline or syllabus of what I expect to prove. If now made into a book the articles would be pronounced "suggestive." I want to produce a work that shall be in a way "authoritative." I see years of work that might be put into the work but I presume there is a limit to the remunerativeness of such labor. Anyhow I hope to get the book out in two or three years—probably the latter.

Now I am "lotting" a great deal on your criticism—real criticism I mean for I feel in doubt as to a great many points and am far more anxious to publish something that is *so* than to remain consistent with myself. I am perfectly ready to "cut" and alter extensively if thereby I can make my interpretation truer to the phenomena I am trying to interpret. Now I wish just before I arrive late in June you could do me the very great favor of reading over the entire series critically and making plenty of marginal annotations that will enable to recall the points of comment and criticism when I am able to confer with you. I will take heed and make note and can then revise and recast when I get to London. I am counting on lots of advice and light from you and shall feel greatly established on points that you approve.

I was greatly impressed by your article on the function of Religion<sup>14</sup> and shall have to amend my own study of Religion a great deal. The conflict between the appetites of man and his own welfare was not so distinct to me when I began as it is coming to be and I was then too prone to see only society and the individual.

Wasn't it queer we should treat asceticism<sup>15</sup> in the same issue of the Journal? I think your article on "Utilitarian Economics"<sup>16</sup> is grand.

Do you know that Sadie is going to do fine work in Sociology? Her article on Biog-

<sup>14</sup> "The Essential Nature of Religion," *Int. J. Ethics*, Vol. 8, January 1898, 160-192.

<sup>15</sup> "Social Control IV: Asceticism," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Vol. 3, January 1898, 169-192.

<sup>16</sup> "Utilitarian Economics," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Vol. 3, January 1898, 520-536.

raphy is an original contribution and I hope to get it published. She has just the head for our science.

I shall not sail till July 9. . . . Don't feel called upon to reply to this letter as I know how busy you are and I am asking so much anent "Social Control."

*Ross to Ward, Paris France, December 12, 1898.*

As today I am 32 years old and as a letter mailed now will just reach you by Christmas it seems a good time for me to write. I have just been over in the Latin Quarter to the House of Giard and Briere the great sociological publishers in order to have them send you a copy of the best book I have come across during my stay aboard. It will reach you about Christmas and I beg you will accept it with my most affectionate regards. The book is Vaccaro's Sociological Basis of Law and State and is a way of approaching the problem of government which will I believe win your approval. It is the first scientific sociological treatment of those problems in any extended form.

When I gave your name and address they said "O yes, that is one of our patrons." So I told of my relation to you and got thereby a little standing with them.

I haven't written sooner because not until late in the fall did I get fairly to work. I did a little work in London but I hadn't had my usual summer rest so I found myself utterly fagged out with no endurance at all. We passed two or three weeks in Brittany which were beneficial and then I loafed for over two months after coming here or at least did little outside of French lessons. For the last six or seven weeks I have been a kind of half-timer going 3 days in the week to the Bibliotheque National. I shall keep about that pace for the rest of the winter and spring as I can't afford to work too hard with next year's work looming before me.

Until the last few days I have been reading and accumulating piles of little slips containing extracts facts or ideas that have occurred to me. I have cast a wide net in order to get all sorts of fish. I have read all the latest books in Egyptology and Assyriol-

ogy besides Renan's *History of Israel*. I have been studying the Northmen, the primitive Germans, the Bedouins and the tribes of the Soudan. I have read Mungo Park and Speke and Burton and Baker and Barth besides many recent books of travel to get a clear notion of natural non-moral man. I have been studying the rise of auricular confession and indulgences, the history of dogmas, the development of the Papacy and the causes and course of the Reformation. I have traversed all the best books on China in order to understand the most ancient system of control now actually at work. Besides this wide review of concrete facts and first hand information I have paid some attention to the generalizations and interpretations of others though here I must confess I have not found very many books of value. Sighele's *Psychologie des Sectes* presented a clean-cut idea though in rather dilute form. Le Bon's *Psychologie des Peuples* I found somewhat suggestive but very hazy. I have found two first class books of this sort, namely that of Vaccaro and Von Ihering's *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*. The same author's large two-volume work on *Der Zweck im Recht* I found remarkably fine. He comes so near to doing my work before me that I held my breath. His outlook on the problem was just the same as mine but luckily for me he undertook to explain the purpose and meaning of laws and moral rules rather than to inquire how men are brought to obey them. So far I have found no one who has envisaged the particular problem I have taken for my own and I now feel safe. If anybody takes it up now I shall have the advantage of a big start.

My ideas have been developing very rapidly and my weekly output has been cheering. They are chiefly in the direction of building on to rather than transforming what I have written. Some of the matters dismissed in my first article with a paragraph will get a whole chapter in my book. I suppose I shall take nearly a hundred pages before I enter on the study of the agencies of control in my chapter on Law. I shall devote a chapter to each of the natural bases of social order namely sociability,

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sympathy and the native sense of justice. Then I shall follow with chapters on the Necessity of Control, the Fact of Control and a big chapter on the Direction of Control. Then I shall put in three chapters on the Genesis of Control dealing respectively with "Selection and Survival of Moral Elements," "Great men and the Elite" and "Tradition." Then will come Part II dealing with the agencies of control and containing the matter already published save that I shall cut out in some places and develop in others. I shall cut out my study of Assemblage insert one on Music and develop the chapter on Suggestion into three viz. Suggestion, Use and Wont, and Education.

There will be a Part III dealing much more at length with the topics hastily touched upon in my closing article. I shall give a smashing chapter to Class Control and shall treat of the Systems of Control, the Criteria and Limits of Control and the Future of Social Control besides others.

I have lately begun to write and am just completing my revision of the chapter on Belief. It will be richer in historical matter and will abound in interpretations of historical phenomena. I think I can make several of the chapters richer and more inter-

esting by showing the agencies working in the concrete. The general result of my studies has been to convince me of the existence of moral varieties in the human species and to lead me to take as my problem the explanation of social order in the Aryan type of man particularly the Celto-German stock. This specializing of the problem enables me to avoid an abstractness and generality of assertion which would have been forced upon me had I sought to lay down statements to hold good in any and all societies.

This letter has been egoistic enough but there is nothing but my reading and my work to write about. There is much I want to hear of from you for I do not yet know of your experiences at the Univ. of West Virginia or of your recent trip north. And I want to hear of your library tasks and plans and of any general news in social science for I am isolated here. Don't even see the Jour. of Soc.

I want to thank you for remembering me with the Cycadoidea paper.<sup>17</sup> It was like a message from you. . . .

<sup>17</sup> "Descriptions of the Species of Cycadeoidea or Fossil Cycadean Trunks . . . of the Black Hills," from *Proc. of the U. S. Nat. Mus.*, Vol. 21, no. 1141.

*To be continued in the December issue.*

## OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



### REPORT ON NOMINATIONS AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1947

In accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws, I am transmitting herewith the report of the Committee on Nominations to the Society. The persons listed as having the highest number of votes are the new officers for 1947.

The proportion voting continues to be larger than was the case before the elections were held by mail, but still falls just short of 60 per cent of the persons eligible to vote.

This year's election was preceded by a "primary" in which a 10 per cent random sample of the Society's membership was asked to suggest nominees for the several positions. The results of this balloting were used by the nominating committee in arriving at the slate.

The Society is grateful to Clyde W. Hart, the members of the committee and the tellers for the service they performed.

CARL C. TAYLOR, President

*To the President of the American Sociological Society:*

The official ballot for the election of officers was prepared by the Committee on Nominations and mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society on May 15, 1946. The nominees for the several elective offices were:

*For President*

Talcott Parsons

Louis Wirth

*For First Vice-President*

E. Franklin Frazier

Thorsten Sellin

*For Second Vice-President*

Robert C. Angell

Philip M. Hauser

*For Members of Executive Committee*

Katharine Jocher

Raymond F. Sletto

T. Lynn Smith

Samuel A. Stouffer

*For Assistant Editors of Review*

Frank Lorimer

Ira de A. Reid

Joseph J. Spengler

Nathan L. Whetten

Twelve hundred sixteen ballots were sent out, and a total of 728 ballots were returned to the Secretary. Ten of these had to be thrown out because no mark of identification appeared on the outer envelope or elsewhere and, hence, the sender could not be certified as an eligible voter. Twenty-seven were mailed after the deadline fixed by the By-Laws of the Society. The number of members who participated in the election was, therefore, 691—exactly the same proportion (57 per cent) of the total membership as participated in the preceding election.

Ballots were counted under the supervision of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee and the Secretary of the Society with the assistance of four tellers: Harry Alpert, Elizabeth Herzog, Peter Lejins, and Edgar A. Schuler. The usual precautions were taken to assure the secrecy of the ballot. The following persons were elected by clear majorities.

*President*

Louis Wirth

*First Vice-President*

E. Franklin Frazier

*Second Vice-President*

Robert C. Angell

*Executive Committee Members*

Katharine Jocher

Samuel A. Stouffer

*Assistant Editors*

Frank Lorimer

Ira de A. Reid

In preparing the list of nominees for the above ballot, the Chairman of the Nominating Committee, after consultation with the President and Secretary of the Society and with two members of the Nominating Committee for the previous year, sent to a random sample of one-tenth of the membership the following letter:

Dear Colleague:

The Committee on Nominations of the American Sociological Society asks your co-operation in getting before the Committee the names of persons who, in the judgment of the membership, should be considered for the several offices of the Society for 1947.

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This is not, of course, a mail ballot to determine nominations. Availability of candidates and many other factors will have to be taken into consideration by the Committee in arriving at a slate. Heretofore each member of the Committee on Nominations has canvassed informally a number of persons in his region for suggestions, a procedure which worked somewhat unevenly. This year we are attempting to make the preliminary canvass more systematic by sending these suggestion blanks to approximately one-tenth of the members of the Society selected at random from the full membership list.

We are asking you, therefore, if you will enter your suggestions on the enclosed blank at your earliest convenience, so that the Committee may have them before it at its meeting in Cleveland on March 2.

You will find the membership list for 1945 in the October issue of the *Review*. In this same issue you will find lists of the present officers and of those who will be inducted at the Cleveland meeting next month (p. 664).

Thirty-three persons, approximately a fourth, of this sample group replied. There was very little agreement among them. For example, twenty-one persons were suggested for the presidency and one person was mentioned for that office by more than five members; suggestions for the other offices were even more widely scattered, and many respondents just couldn't think of enough worthy candidates to fill out the whole slate. However, the suggestions received were useful to the Committee when it met at Cleveland.

Only seven members of the Committee were present at the Cleveland meeting. They selected a preliminary slate including three nominees for each of the several offices, which was then submitted by mail to all fifteen members with the request that each select the two for each office whose names he would favor including on the final ballot. Committee members were asked to substitute other names for those on the preliminary ballot, if they wished to do so. As a result of this procedure, every nominee on the official ballot was approved by a majority of the members of the Nominating Committee.

**CLYDE W. HART, Chairman,**  
Committee on Nominations

#### 1946 COMMITTEE ON CLASSIFICATION

Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. *Chairman.*

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Leonard S. Cottrell, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Robert E. L. Faris, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

#### 1946 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Delbert Miller, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, *Chairman.*

Andrew G. Truxal, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

Brewton Berry, Rhode Island State, Kingston, R.I.

Nathan Whetten, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

Louis Guttman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Edmund de S Brunner, Columbia University, New York City, N.Y.

John W. Riley, Jr. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Edgar Schuler, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Peter Lejins, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Alice Davis, Richmond School of Social Work, Richmond, Va.

Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S.C.

B. O. Williams, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Henry Lucian Andrews, University of Alabama, University, Ala.

Morton King, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.

Marshall Cinnard, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

Paul W. Shankweiler, State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

William G. Mather, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

S. Delbert Clark, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

William H. Form, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Orden C. Smucker, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.

Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Helen Hughes, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill.  
 Svend Riemer, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
 Raymond Sletto, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.  
 Ernest Mannheim, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Homer Hitt, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.  
 Edward Sayler, Yankton College, Yankton, S.D.  
 Samuel Strong, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.  
 Randall C. Hill, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kan.  
 Robert T. McMillan, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Okla.  
 Harry Moore, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.  
 George Lundberg, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
 Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont.  
 Lawrence Bee, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.  
 Leonard Bloom, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Harold T. Christiansen, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.  
 Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico State College, State College, N.M.  
 Andrew Lind, University Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H.

## MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1946

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members, as \* Life Members, \*\* Emeritus Members, † Sustaining Members, ‡ Honorary Members.

The letters after the names indicate the interests reported by each member, as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Methods of Research, (d) Social Biology, (e) Educational Sociology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Study, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion, (m) Sociology and Psychiatry, (n) Criminology, (o) Political Sociology, (p) Human Ecology. Capital letters indicate leading interests.

Aaserude, L. Vernon, Box 741, Quincy, Calif., c H j  
 Abel, Theodore F., Palisades, N.Y., a c o  
 Abernethy, George L., Davidson Col., Davidson, N.C., b g l O  
 Abrams, Ray H., 408 S. Lansdowne Ave., Lansdowne, Pa., b K l m  
 Ackerman, Dorothy, 51 Washington Ave., Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, a i  
 Adams, Amilee, 535 N. Alexandria, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Adams, Stuart N., 2327 N. High St., Columbus 2, Ohio.  
 Adams, Theodore L., 355 Western Ave., Jersey City 7, N.J., b i n  
 Adler, Franz and Leta, 431 N. Lake, Madison, Wis., a b f h k l m n  
 Aginsky, Bernard and Ethel C., 55 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y., A c h j k m n o p  
 Akers, Elmer R., 1624 Alpha St., Lansing, Mich., b h n  
 Albig, J. W., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., a b c o  
 Alexander, Chester, Westminister College, Fulton, Mo., a B C D F  
 Alexander, Frank D., 1372 Greenland Drive, Atlanta, Ga., c g h  
 Allen, LeRoy, 1414 E. 4th Ave., Winfield, Kan.  
 Allport, Floyd H., 400 Maxwell Bldg., Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y., a b c f g k o p  
 Alm, Paul S., 188 Seymour Ave., S.E. Minneapolis 14, Minn., f i m  
 Alpert, Harry, 1337 Talbert Terr. S.E., Washington 20, D.C., A b c f h i j k m o p  
 Amann, Dorothy, Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.  
 Anderson, Brooks, Box 81, Winthrop Col., Rock Hill, S.C., a b m  
 Anderson, C. Arnold, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., A g k  
 Anderson, Carl S., 3250 Laurel Canyon Blvd., N. Hollywood, Calif.  
 Anderson, Clarence W., 316 W. Beaver, State College, Pa.  
 Anderson, Elvin L., 600 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill., c g h m  
 Anderson, Odin W., 521 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, Mich., a c i  
 Anderson, W. A., Dept. of Rural Social Organization, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y., a c f g p  
 Andrews, Henry L., Box 797, University, Alabama, a g H j p  
 Angelino, Henry R., Dept. of Sociology, Rm. 100 B., S.S., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.  
 Angell, Robert C., 1007 Berkshire Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Annakin, V. Dewey, Indiana St. Teachers Col., Terre Haute, Ind., a j l  
 Apovian, Harry S., 508 67th St., West New York, N.J., k n  
 Arensberg, Conrad M., Bedford Ave. and Ave. H., Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Armbruster, Gordon H., 2919 S. Superior St., Milwaukee, Wis., a B o  
 \*Armstrong, Clairette P., 114 E. 40th St., New York, N.Y., b

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\*Armstrong, Donald, American Standards Ass'n., 70 E. 45th St., New York 17, N.Y.

Armstrong, Hazel E., Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.

Arnold, Melvin, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass., A l o

Arrington, Margaret, Box 213, Sanderson, Tex.

Arrington, Ruth E., R.F.D. No. 1, Manassas, Va., b c f m

Asgis, Alfred J., 7 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N.Y., j o

Atchley, Mell H., Fairmont State College, Fairmont, W.Va., e g k n

Athearn, Clarence R., 999 Pelham Pkwy., New York 67, N.Y.

Atwood, J. Howell, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

Axelrad, Sidney, 66 W. 12th St., New York 11, N.Y.

Baber, Ray E., Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.

Bacon, Selden D., 4 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven 10, Conn., b i M n

Bahar, Mathilde, 1316 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.

Bailey, Joseph C., 416 West 118th St., New York, N.Y., b e g h o p

Bailie, Helena I. T., 1460 Lexington Ave., New York 28, N.Y., b C g h k

Bain, Read, 116 Tallawanda Road, Oxford, Ohio.

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University of Utah Sociological Society, Salt Lake City, Utah

Sociology Club of the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

District of Columbia Sociological Society, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Southern Sociological Society, Florida State College, Tallahassee, Fla.

Eastern Sociological Society, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y.

Mid-West Sociological Society, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

Pacific Sociological Society, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Wash.

Rural Sociological Society, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

Southwestern Sociological Society, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

Univ. Farm Campus, Rural Sociology, St. Paul, Minn.

### SUMMARY OF BALLOTS ON PREFERENCES RELATING TO TIME AND PLACES OF ANNUAL MEETINGS

The poll of the membership of the American Sociological Society regarding preferences as to time and place of annual meetings reveals clear agreement on two points: meetings should be held at the same time each year, and the anthropologists lead the list of other professional groups with whom joint meetings are desired. There is less agreement on time and place of meetings and on the extent to which meetings with other groups are desired.

Subject to some qualifications to be given below, the preferences among the 608 members voting appear to be:

1. Meetings should be held at the same time each year.
2. The period between Christmas and New Year is preferred by a small majority. It was given a rating more often than any other date and it was given a "first" more often than any other. It has a higher

"preference point score" than any other date. There are, however, some differences among the attendance groups and by regions.

3. Most meetings should be held in the East and Middle West, but occasional meetings should be held in other parts of the country as well. Flexibility in arrangements on this point was preferred to fixed arrangements, meetings at the same place each year and a fixed rotation were less popular.
4. We should hold some meetings "by ourselves," but every second or third meeting should be held with other groups. There is a group with a strongly held preference for resumption of regular meetings with the Allied Social Science groups, but on the whole this appears to be a second choice.
5. Among the other Societies with whom meetings are desired, the Anthropologists clearly lead; Economists, Psychologists, and Political Scientists, Statisticians, Historians, and Geographers follow in order.

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## TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

Chicago, December 28-30

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 9:00 A.M.-10:00 A.M.

### Registration.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 10:00 A.M.-12:00 M.

### General Session. Speaker to be announced.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1:15 P.M.-3:15 P.M.

#### Social Theory, Louis Wirth, Chairman.

General Topic: Sociological Theory in Representative Fields of Research.

"Sociological Theory in Race Relations," E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University.

"Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago.

"Sociological Theory in Public Opinion and Attitude Studies"—open.

#### Contributed Papers, Katharine Jocher, Chairman. To be arranged.

#### Community and Ecology, Rudolf Heberle, Chairman.

"The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," Julius A. Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence C. Shrag, University of Washington.

"Ecological Patterns of American Rural Communities and Their Theoretical Implications," Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College.

"Adolescent Behavior in an Urban Community as Related to Class and Social Status," A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 3:30 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

#### Population, T. J. Woofter, Jr., Chairman.

"Recent Population Trends in Japan," Frank Lorimer, American University.

"Status of the American Family," Mortimer Spiegelman, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Third paper to be announced.

#### Educational Sociology, H. C. Bearley, Chairman.

"Some of Us Teach," Herbert D. Lamson, Boston University.

"Newer Techniques in Teaching Sociology"—open.

"Some Special Aspects of The Beginners Course"—open.

#### The Family, Carle C. Zimmerman, Chairman.

"The Guest and the Family," James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania.

"Recent Divorce Novels," James H. Barnett, University of Connecticut.

"The Family Cycle," Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census.

"Modern Abortion," E. Kenneth Karcher, Jr., Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Discussants: L. Guy Brown, Oberlin College; Franz H. Mueller, College of St. Thomas; Reuben Hill, Iowa State College.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 8:00 P.M.

### General Session. Speaker to be announced.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 9:00 A.M.-11:00 A.M.

#### Social Psychology, Herbert Blumer, Chairman.

"Distinctly Sociological Concepts of Personality Development," Peter Lejins, University of Maryland.

"Community Factors and the Process of Hospitalization in Relation to Mental Disorders," Report on a Research Project in Social Psychology, A. R. Mangus and Associates, Ohio State University.

**Industrial Sociology.** Conrad Arensberg, Chairman.

Program to be arranged.

**Research Methods.** Gordon W. Blackwell, Chairman.

"Contributions of Other Social Sciences to Research Methodology in Sociology."

Margaret Jarman Hagood, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Recent Contributions of Statistics to Research Methodology in Sociology: An illustration.

Richard S. Lyman, Duke University.

Recent Contributions of Psychiatry to Research Methodology in Sociology.

J. L. Moreno, Sociometric Institute, New York City.

Recent Contributions of Sociometry to Research Methodology in Sociology.

Discussants: Louis Guttman, Cornell University (one yet to be selected).

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 11:00 A.M.-12:00 M.

#### Business Meeting.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1:15-3:15 P.M.

**Criminology.** Elio D. Monachesi, Chairman.

Program to be arranged.

**The Family.** George F. Murdock, Chairman.

"The Future of the Family," Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University.

"The Quebec City Family," Jean-Charles Falardeau, Laval University, Quebec.

"Family Stability," Robert E. L. Faris, Syracuse University.

"War and Middle Class Women," Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Queens College.

Discussants: C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia; Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University; Preston Valien, Fisk University.

**Community and Ecology.** Rudolf Heberle, Chairman.

"Social Integration of American Cities," Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan.

"Social Organization of Housing Communities," Robert Merton, Columbia University.

A paper by Edgar A. Schuler, Michigan State College.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 3:30-5:30 P.M.

**Educational Sociology.** H. C. Brarley, Chairman.

"The Plan of Sociology . . . . .

A. In Teacher Education," Lester D. Zeleny, Colorado State College of Agriculture.

B. In General Education"—open.

C. In Education for Social Work"—open.

D. In Pre-professional Training"—open.

**Population.** T. J. Woofter, Jr., Chairman.

"Projections of Future Population," P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation.

"Differential Fertility in Indianapolis," Clyde Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund.

**Contributed Papers.** Katharine Jocher, Chairman.

To be arranged.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 8:00 P.M.

**General Session.** Speaker to be announced.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 8:45 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

**Industrial Sociology.** Conrad M. Arensberg, Chairman.

Program to be arranged.

**Research Methods.** Gordon W. Blackwell, Chairman.

General Topic: Methods in Housing Research.

"Housing as a Field of Research in Sociology," Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

"Current Sources of Sociological Data in Housing," Fitzhugh L. Carmichael, University of Denver.

A paper by F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

A paper by Robert K. Merton, Columbia University.

Discussants: N. J. Demerath, University of North Carolina. Richard Ratcliffe, University of Wisconsin.

**Criminology.** Elio D. Monachesi, Chairman.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 11:00-1:00 P.M.

**Social Theory.** Louis Wirth, Chairman.

General Topic: Issues in Sociological Theory.

"Selection of Problems"—open.

"Organization and Prosecution of Research"—open.

"Application of Research Findings"—open.

**Social Psychology.** Samuel A. Stouffer, Chairman.

"Some problems in methods arising out of attitude research in the Army," a series of brief critical reports by former members of the Research Branch, Informational and Educational Division, Army Service Forces, War Department.

## CURRENT ITEMS



### COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINIONS

#### TWO BILLIONS FOR WHAT? A PROPOSAL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The development of the atomic bomb was an expensive process. In money its cost has been estimated at two billion dollars. This fact may stimulate the social scientist to consider what might be accomplished in social research for a comparable figure. If the proposed National Research Foundation or if UNESCO were suddenly to provide the social scientists with an unprecedented magnitude of research funds, what should we do? Should we only multiply the number of unrelated projects of varying degrees of triviality? Should we continue to place faith in a cosmic process of cumulation whereby someone some day would be able to see the coherence of our efforts so invisible to us?

As we settle back in our academic chairs relieved that the enemy is no longer at our throats, or as we lunge out of our chairs to teach the old courses to the hordes of new students, let us pay momentary respect to the dark days of December, 1941. They were dark of course for many reasons. But to sociologists and, perhaps, to social scientists in general, they were dark because as we searched our souls, we felt an inadequacy in trying to answer the question: "What have we to contribute to the war effort?"

Now that we have been granted a stay of execution for an indeterminate period, it is beneficial to recreate that sense of inadequacy and from it to develop a conviction of urgency. It is clear that many, if not all, of the same problems that troubled the world before the last war are still unsolved. Despite the fact that a sense of urgency is about as foreign to a college campus as a sombrero to an Eskimo, we must recognize the moral imperative in the situation and plan comprehensive and coherent research to give meaningful answers to crucial questions.

To demonstrate that he is not merely exhorting others to do that which he himself is too lazy to attempt, the writer will set forth below one man's suggestion for a frontal assault on a crucial problem.

The most pressing social problem is, as it has been, the prevention of war. War may be thought of as aggressive acts by organized groups. Logically war, as defined, might be averted by eliminating the aggression or by channeling it into non-warlike activities. Psychologists are disposed to hold that frustration is inevitable and that aggression is one of its

necessary consequences. The problem then seems to become that of finding a technique of channeling aggression into non-warlike activities, or in the words of William James, to find "the moral equivalent of war."

Psychologists have conceptualized the social psychological processes whereby the individual becomes emotionally set to participate with his fellows in group aggression. Studies are needed to determine whether or not such conceptualization holds over the whole gamut of observable cultures. In the process of such study attention should be given to the possibility of correcting, sharpening, and extending the conceptualization. Such existing studies with which the writer is familiar are weak in suggesting ways in which the psychological sequence can be broken. From a systematic survey of the gamut of cultures clues should emerge.

With these introductory remarks to indicate the setting, the writer will rough in the general outlines of a proposed study. All known cultures should be ordered in one classificatory schema or in the several schemas thought to be most relevant to the basic problem. A sample of eight of the most similar cultures of each type should be drawn for study. Because they represent recent, present, or potential "problem" areas, samples should be included from Germany, Japan, Italy, the Balkans, the East Indies, China, India, the Near East, and northern and southern Africa. To maximize cultural variation other groups should be included from the USSR, the USA and western Europe.

Once the samples have been selected, descriptive studies should be inaugurated to cover the following points:

- (a) The power-wealth-status relationships.
- (b) Social and economic mobility and the attendant hopes, expectations, and realizations.
- (c) The psychic implications of the child-rearing regimen.
- (d) The "projective screens" (folklore, religion, ideology, utopia, morals, ethics, etc.).
- (e) The social problems.
- (f) The psychic conflicts and modes of expression: collective-individual, internalized-externalized.

Analysis coming at the end of the first or descriptive stage would develop:

- (a) Blueprints of the basic personality types required by the several culture types in their observed and foreseeable forms.
- (b) Blueprints of the culture types which would

be required to be adjusted to the observed basic personality types.

- (c) For each culture type a blueprint of both culture and personality type which would reconcile the difference between (a) and (b) and take account of the desirability of developing a world community.

This mode of analysis should result in a set of hypotheses regarding the cultural and psychological conditions under which aggression could be kept within socially acceptable limits. The hypotheses would be tested in the second or experimental stage.

At the beginning of the experimental stage it would be necessary to divide each sample of eight cultures into two paired sub-samples of four each, one pair to become a control and the other three pairs to become experimental groups. Pairs are suggested to provide replications. The first of the three experimental pairs would be used for psychological manipulation only; the second for cultural manipulation only; the third for a combined manipulation.

Following is an illustration in homely fashion of the type of thing that is meant by manipulation. Should it be hypothesized that where parental discipline is very strict, the child grows into a dependent adult and seeks to lean upon authority, the experimental approach would presumably indicate that an effort should be made in the appropriate experimental groups to relax parental discipline, to foster childhood independence, etc.

It is not intended to suggest that the foregoing are the only questions to be studied or that they are the best questions. If such an enterprise should be undertaken, it would seem to call for divergent modes of attack. Particularly since it could be done without a proportionate increase in expense it would seem desirable to press the investigation in terms of the potentially fruitful questions to be asked by each of the social sciences.

The cost of such a project would be tremendous, but so are the problems, and so must be our efforts. We may find that the funds will be forthcoming if we begin to address the social problems that demand solution.

It may be objected that the requisite number of social scientists could never be persuaded to leave their individualistic pursuits in order to participate in a co-operative enterprise. The opportunity for individualistic activity is a part of the psychic income of the academic vocation, but it is also responsible for the atomistic character of our research. It is we, the social scientists, who are most facile in demonstrating the interdependence of man. Perhaps we should give a thought to transforming our interdependence from a verbal to a functional level. The physical scientists have shown us what scientific co-operation can mean.

The writer is not proud of this suggestion. It is his earnest hope that someone will turn up with a vastly superior idea. What the writer is pleading for is a program of large scale attack upon our large

scale problems, a project that will draw from a homogeneous set of data a coherent set of answers to important questions.

ROBERT F. WINCH

*Vanderbilt University*

#### A NOTE ON BOWMAN'S "MUST THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FOSTER MORAL SKEPTICISM?"<sup>1</sup>

This is a question which in times like the disturbing present cannot be passed over lightly or ignored. Still, the answer which Professor Bowman arrives at does not appear to be a satisfactory one. If it is true that the social sciences, and sociology in particular, have encouraged a critical and reflective attitude toward existing sanctions for moral conduct, the explanation cannot be derived from the view that "an inadequate understanding of the uses and limitations of scientific method" is the cause, whatever the exigencies were within which the social sciences developed. It is, for one thing, not likely that the sociologist can be successfully charged with ignorance respecting scientific methodology. Apart from what may be said about social scientists in general on this point, there is no group which has more enthusiastically devoted themselves to an understanding of scientific methodology than the sociologist. One does not exaggerate when it is asserted that sociologists have made the study of scientific method one of their chief preoccupations.

The history of sociology may be interpreted as an effort to determine whether or not the study of human nature and collective behavior can be brought within the scope of what is usually called science. This has been the issue involved in all discussions which raise the question whether science is subject-matter or method. The outcome of this debate is still far from having been decided. It, therefore, seems a serious accusation, to be supported by good evidence and sound reasons, to assert that the moral skepticism which, for example, tends to accompany the teaching of sociology to the young rests upon an abuse of scientific methodology. The apparent results of social science teaching in this respect may be due, for aught one can prove to the contrary in our time, to a general state of affairs of which these activities are only a reflex.

Professor Bowman is not unaware of this possibility. He points out at the very beginning of his paper that student attitudes toward the war before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, while expressed in the terminology and logic of science, were, in some instances, anyhow, the outcome of several flourishing but conflicting systems of evaluation. Somewhat farther along in this same paper it is also remarked that the prevalence of moral skepticism in our time has several social and ideological roots, and of which only one is acknowledged as being the social science

<sup>1</sup> *American Sociological Review*, 10:709-715, December, 1945.

tradition. Sociologists are not charged out of hand for working evil in the community. It is conceded that moral skepticism is part of the spirit of the times, an aspect of the *Zeitgeist*. Nevertheless, the social science tradition is featured as one of the more prominent factors contributing to this state of affairs. The influence of this tradition, it is alleged, far outranges the number of individuals directly touched in and out of the classroom, for the persons involved tend to be the more intelligent and influential.

The charge that sociologists have fostered moral skepticism is, then, true only in a qualified sense. A sociologist is a child first and a scientist afterwards, just as is a physicist or a biologist. Living at a time when everything appears to be convulsed by changes of one sort or another, it would be strange, indeed, if sociologists did not reflect the dominant mood of their age in their work, in the problems chosen for resolution. Had Professor Bowman gone no farther than this is making his point, there would be no grounds for disagreement, and his paper would represent a contribution to the sociology of knowledge in the best sense of that phrase. But when he goes beyond this to observe that the sociologist has encouraged moral skepticism because of his ignorance of scientific methodology, that amounts to being almost a canard. And even more provocative is the statement "that the scientific approach to human nature and society is not an unmitigated boon."

So far as this last judgment goes, the same may be said of all sciences.<sup>2</sup> Recent events have compelled all of us to take cognizance of the alternative proposition that the scientific enterprise is as apt to bring about the end of civilization as being an instrument for its survival and glorification. Science pursued as a game played by experts, technologists, and industrialists within the existing, traditional value system has shown that nobody can take for granted the desires, wishes, and motives which today gave direction and significance to scientific discoveries and inventions. Therefore, to call sociologists to account for their pretensions to objectivity is also to impugn the activities of all scientists, whether the concomitant is moral skepticism or not. Scientists everywhere have assumed that if they remain detached, objective, unbiased, and intellectually honest as they go about the tasks set for them by their cultures, the sort of world we all appear to want would be spontaneously, though slowly, forthcoming. It has seldom occurred to the man of science that his activities, which enlarge man's knowledge of himself and his world and vastly extend his powers of manipulation, may not be consistent with the values which initiated his labors, as witness the dilemma in which the atomic scientist now finds himself.

The Nature studied by the man of science is not a

kind of Cosmic Utopia, which somehow will spin out her beneficence as man searches out her manner of working in the still of the laboratory or the study. The attitude which is developing is that the man of science can no longer take the values which sanction his work as in the nature of things, any more than he can assume that fire will not as merrily cook his food as burn down his house, or that nuclear fission will not as indifferently vaporize a maternity hospital as yield up useful heat to free the coal miner from a dangerous and unhealthy occupation. No science, not even physics, has been an unmitigated boon to the human race; nor will any science ever remotely become that until scientists become not less objective, but also aware of the indifference of Nature to human aspiration and share the moral responsibility which is theirs not to use the vast theoretical knowledge and "know-how" of their craft to support value systems which may bring about the end of mankind.

It is also a mistake to be scornful of the sociologists' pretensions to objectivity because it leads him to discover only faith and sentiment where ideals once were. It is an error to believe that systems of evaluation are any less real and important in organizing personality and collective behavior because man's subjective states are liable to produce irrational and unreasonable behavior. What his results in this regard do mean, however, is that individual and group conduct sanctioned because it has little else than sentiment and traditionalism to buoy it up, is not a justifiable warrant for doing anything in a world become more and more a creation of intelligence and ideas. The world of today cannot be subverted to ideals whose exclusive warrant for being are that their recitation resuscitates pleasant feeling states of juvenile origin within the individual on the one hand, and that they can be cited for having a rich traditionalism behind them on the other. Values must also show some coherence and correspondence with the conditions of existence. Effective values are derived from what people are actually found doing in getting a living and the habits which eventuate.

There is more than noise in the phrase that we are living in a changing world, a world which is not in evolution or in some process of becoming. Whether youth has made this discovery need not be ascertained here, but to be less than a moral skeptic in our time is to be blind to passing events. Man's growing knowledge of how things work is going ahead at a pace undreamed of by the generation gone before. In this light, Professor Bowman's plausible contention that the war just ended was not just another war may be correct, but one thing that it was not was a contest wherein the higher, the traditional, values were being affirmed. The effective values which will emerge from this gigantic holocaust will be precisely those which bear some relationship to the social organizations which the conflict will have given birth to. That these new values may not

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Schneider, "On the Social and Moral Implications of Science," *The Scientific Monthly*, 61:353-358, November, 1945.

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affirm democratic ideals goes without saying. It would be unintelligent to be blind to this contingency. Nevertheless, it can be positively asserted that democratic ideals are only nourished in a setting of democratic realities. Individuals will only affirm democratic ideals and act upon them when the situation is so structured as to make it meaningful for them to do so in living and not otherwise.

Coming back now to Professor Bowman's statement that the social sciences have fostered moral skepticism because of "an inadequate understanding of the uses and limitations of the scientific method," this judgment appears to rest on the principle that the intrusion of an objective attitude into "areas where standards for personal and group conduct are being determined represents an abuse of science." Whatever else this can mean in the present instance but that there is an attempt being made to resist a naturalistic interpretation of behavior in certain spheres while at the same time not objecting to such an interpretation in others, is not clear. Specifically, what Professor Bowman will not allow is the judgment that the war just ended was "just another war wherein one group of powers was pitted against another group." But, if a naturalistic interpretation of Fascism leads to the establishment of criteria favorable to the making of realistically meaningful judgments about this particular form of social order, why then may not a similar interpretation of war behavior lead to valid judgments concerning World War II? There is no denial of the "legitimacy of ethical issues and convictions" when this is allowed in one case than in the other. Neither is an effort to interpret war behavior scientifically "detrimental to science itself," unless, of course, the implied premise put forth that the wars fought by the United States have always been for righteous causes which the scientist is morally bound to defend is allowed.

If the inference here concerning the referent of the statement that the fostering of moral skepticism by the sociologist is an abuse of science is correct, it may be said at once that a naturalistic interpretation of war behavior does not deny that during periods of conflict standards of personal and group conduct are being determined. That is, from one aspect, what makes it possible to wage wars. How a scientific study of war could emerge with a contrary conclusion on this point is difficult to see. But what the sociologist studying war behavior would probably say is that the standards of conduct which develop are war standards, rules of behavior related to that complex of events called fighting, not peace standards. A glance at the turmoil called the period of reconversion or reconstruction following a modern war indicates well enough in what sort of manner the fighting standards developed during the war years serve as guides to personal and group conduct in the new dispensation called peace.

The conclusion to which we are brought is that we

are not on safe ground when we attempt to appraise the place of the social sciences in the present scheme of things after the manner employed by Professor Bowman. It is an error to impugn the scientific interpretation of a series of events like the war just ended either because the scientific enterprise has not been an unmixed blessing, or because the attempts of the scientist to ferret out the mechanism of evaluational behavior may induce moral skepticism. The nursing of an agonized conscience is not a justifiable warrant for lashing out against those who would seek to discover *how things work*. Neither is it a solution of the modern dilemma.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

*University of Minnesota*

#### A NOTE ON ALEXANDER'S "IS SOCIOLOGY AN EXACT SCIENCE?"<sup>1</sup>

In his article, "Is Sociology an Exact Science?" Dr. Chester Alexander discusses three critical aspects of sociological methodology, and concludes that "... sociology is one of the natural sciences, all of which are headed in the same direction; that is, towards an explanation of natural phenomena."

Dr. Alexander's three principal criteria for testing the "exact" nature of sociology are: the number of concepts which it has set down, the generalizations framed which have the force of natural law, and finally the capacity of these generalizations in serving as measures of prediction. His discussion is defensive throughout, and he contents himself with showing that sociology shares a measure of inexactness with all other sciences. However, his implicit conclusion is that sociology is presently progressing to ever greater degrees of exactness. I feel, however, that the very criteria chosen by Dr. Alexander belie the conclusion he ultimately derives from them.

Sociological terminology is neither precise nor exact, despite the almost heroic efforts of sociologists to introduce terms which are universally intelligible with regard to their referents. So basic a term as "social institution" has not yet been defined in such a way as to afford a terminological constant to investigators. A rapid survey of some of the pertinent literature reveals some striking differences in the definitions given of this fundamental term.<sup>2</sup>

Otto Neurath, in a brilliant monograph on this subject,<sup>3</sup> has shown in meticulous detail the technical

<sup>1</sup> *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, February 1946, pp. 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Charles H. Cooley, *Social Process*; Graham Wallace, *Our Social Heritage*; John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*; William G. Sumner, *Folkways*; Floyd H. Allport, "Group and 'Institution' as Concepts in a Natural Science of Phenomena," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXII, 1927, pp. 83-99; Joyce O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Neurath, "Foundations of Social Science,"

difficulties involved in deriving a sociological terminology which could serve as a common research tool. Many authors are not ashamed to confess, at the very outset of their discussions, that they are dealing with terms that are mere vague shadows whose meanings yet await precise clarification.<sup>4</sup> All too often the richness of a technical vocabulary is indicative of a confusion between the names given to things and the things themselves. A cognate investigation, recently published by a committee of historians, has shown the vast range of connotations attached to terms which have become standard verbal counters in that field.<sup>5</sup> A similar investigation of sociological materials would reveal, I feel sure, similar confusions and lacunae.

There does not appear, to my mind, sufficient evidence in the literature of the subject to warrant the notion that sociologists, today, are capable of framing "natural laws." The disposition to look for "natural laws" indicates a methodological bias hardly consonant with any theory of pluralistic causation. In view of the freely admitted complexity and interdependence of modern society, it would take a brave man indeed to champion any of the simpler conceptions of determinism which make such a conception of "natural law" tenable. In my opinion, this trend suggests a now outmoded rationalistic train of thought. Samples of some of the best investigations of sociological "experimentation" indicate that generalizations of this type can be made and tested in only very limited areas of behavior, where a set of controlling categories may be safely assumed as constants.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Alexander makes a long argument in his conclusion of the fact that the sciences (mathematics may be excluded as a closed tautological system) predict in terms of statistical probabilities. This is

*International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, Vol. II, No. 1, especially p. 1-14, 30-38.

<sup>4</sup> "Social pathology, to establish limits in its own field of study, requires the formulation of a criterion of normality below which will be found the individuals or groups which constitute its subject matter. Social disorganization similarly presupposes a concept of organization as standard of reference. This phase of the literature of both subjects is incomplete, because they are both new fields of study. The terms they so freely employ—maladjustment, maladaptation, demoralization, inadequacy, instability, conflict—tend to be vague and inexact." James Ford, *Social Deviation*, 1939, p. 11 and passim, especially Ch. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Beard, et. al., *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, A report of the Committee on Historiography, Social Science Research Council, 1946.

<sup>6</sup> See especially, S. C. Dodd, *Experiment in Rural Hygiene in Syria*, 1934; E. W. Burgess and Donald Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, 1939; G. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole*, 1931; E. Monachesi, *Prediction Factors in Probation*, 1932.

not to be wondered at, nor argued, when one keeps in mind that an entailed proof (and hence statistically perfect prediction) is impossible to any inductive science. As Hume's classic discussion of the matter has shown, any attempt at this type of proof (and prediction) results in an infinite regress.

It appears that what is implicit in Dr. Alexander's discussion is the underlying belief that the massing and comparison of many related investigations will make possible the generation of a uniform terminology and uniform criteria of measurement and testing, and hence yield a "natural science" which will explain "natural phenomena." However, in the face of terminological confusion and in the differing climates of related investigations as far as their underlying assumptions are concerned, the more likely outcome is the reverse of what is anticipated.

The alternative to such an outlook need not be despair for the need or the utility of sociological research. As Robert Lynd has indicated in his penetrating book on the subject,<sup>7</sup> the answer lies in achieving, or attempting to achieve a known set of controlling assumptions for sociological research. The sociologist brings more to his research problem than the facts he collects about it. In the very act of assembling and selecting his data he is introducing selective critical criteria. This is even more true when the sociologist reinterprets and correlates the findings of pertinent neighboring social sciences. This process is not now out in the open. A full and frank discussion of these factors would ultimately, I believe, define areas of agreement which would take the form of clearly enunciated *social goals*, against these criteria social accomplishment and social disorganization could be measured. What is needed is not only carefully reported random observation, nor only the testing of isolated hypotheses; but the investigation of a web of sociological theorems which represent an area of critical agreement between a number of investigators. At this point will the highest level of methodological clarity be reached.

It is not argued here that such definition will be either easy or prompt, but it certainly seems indicated that this is the line along which sociological research should be directed.<sup>8</sup> An interesting example, profound in its methodological implications, is the work being undertaken by Prof. E. Wight Bakke, at the Labor and Management Center of the Yale Institute of Human Relations.<sup>9</sup> Certainly the earlier

<sup>7</sup> Robert Lynd, *Knowledge for What?*, 1939.

<sup>8</sup> In this connection cf. E. Howard Forsyth, "Relevance and Academic Bias," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, February 1946, pp. 26-31.

<sup>9</sup> Reported in the *New York Times*, July 21, 1946: "Prof. Bakke's theory is designed to furnish a criterion by which the facts of labor-management relations can be analyzed and interpreted, in order to help explain the reactions of management, union leaders and workers to one another and to the public, and thus improve the chances of finding a method

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studies of T. N. Whitehead and Elton Mayo,<sup>10</sup> among others, have shown how fruitful such an avenue of approach can be.

Methodologically speaking, discussions of the exactness of a science, *per se*, are sterile. If number magic or divination from sheep's livers could yield results whereby human behavior in human institutions could be predicted there would be no need for science, sociology or any other. These methods are rejected today because it is felt that they are refuted by experience. Dr. Alexander remarks in his conclusion that: "The contention that sociology is not an exact science should be judged again in the light of facts which show that no science is exceedingly precise, and exactness is only a relative term." Relative, yes, but relative to what? Sociology is, and always will be, as exact as its explanation and description of social phenomena. But it cannot achieve precision unless it is clearly enunciated what it is that it is trying to explain or predict. This statement of aims must be sufficiently intelligible to account for the range of data it employs and the methods which it uses in analyzing them.

In the last analysis its exactness is limited by the nature of the material with which it deals. On this score Aristotle uttered some profound common sense some thousands of years ago.<sup>11</sup>

Discussion (he says) will be adequate if it has as much clearness as the subject matter admits of, precision is not to be sought alike in all discussions . . . it is evidently equally foolish to accept probable reasoning from a mathematician and to demand from a rhetorician scientific proofs . . .

To those who seek the intellectual and psychological security that comes from an "exact" science this caution should be a caution and a comfort.

R. RICHARD WOHL

#### NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**The Social Science Research Council**, aided by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, has undertaken to place gift sets of American social science books and monographs published since 1939 in forty university libraries in European countries occupied by Germany during the war. The purpose of the gifts is to help fill the gap caused by the cessation of social science publications in war areas and the interruption of international scientific communication during hostilities, so that European social scientists may resume their research with full knowl-

of cooperation for mutual survival under the American system of democratic capitalism, free industry, free labor and free enterprise."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, 1933; T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society*, 1936.

<sup>11</sup> *Nichomachean Ethics*, Ross Translation, 1094b, 12-14, 24-27.

edge of developments during their years of enforced isolation. The value of the collection sent to each library will exceed \$1,000.

Books from the fields of anthropology, demography, economics, history, political science, social psychology, sociology and statistics are included in the basic collection of two hundred and fifty books which is being sent to each recipient library. These books were chosen from lists of the outstanding works produced during the last eight years by distinguished leaders in the designated fields. The library authorities are being asked to choose additional volumes in accordance with their respective special needs from a comprehensive list of recent American publications. In this way each institution will obtain a balanced minimum collection of American social sciences materials issued during the war and also a specialized collection adapted to its own particular program.

The project is under the direction of Dr. Thorsten Sellin, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department in the University of Pennsylvania.

**Ninth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society.** The Southern Sociological Society held its Ninth Annual Meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, on May 17-18. The Society has a membership of 245. One hundred and sixty registered for the meeting, and approximately two-thirds of these came from outside the metropolitan area of Atlanta.

There were section programs on Sociological Aspects of Housing, Teaching of Sociology, Impersonal Factors in the Development of the South, Social Research, and Southern Attitudes and Aspirations. At the evening sessions on May 17, papers were given by Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, on "The Carrying Capacity of Sociology" and by William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, on "The Shape of Things to Come." It was in the nature of a triumphal return for both as they are native Georgians and were formerly associated with higher institutions of learning in their native state.

The officers for 1945-46 are: T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, President; Gordon Blackwell, University of North Carolina, First Vice-President; Loula Dunn, Alabama State Department of Public Welfare, Second Vice-President; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, Secretary-Treasurer; Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society; and Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi, and Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia, elected members of the Executive Committee.

**Veterans Administration, Branch 7 (Chicago).** The following sociologists are now in the Research Division, Coordination and Planning Service. E. Jackson Baur is Acting Chief of the Institutional Analysis Section. He was with the Wage Stabilization

Board and served in the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, U.S. Army. Charles N. Elliott is Acting Chief of the Benefits Analysis Section and had served with the Research Branch, Information and Education Division in the Mediterranean Theater. William C. Procuniar, formerly with the U. S. Public Health Service, Division of Venereal Diseases, is head of the Medical Analysis Unit. Joseph Cohen, formerly with the Price Division of the Chicago Regional Office of the O.P.A. and who served with the A.A.F. Training Command, is Assistant Chief of the Benefits Analysis Section.

**New York State Department of Social Welfare** is being reorganized this year. The 175-year-old intrastate settlement system is being abolished. The localities share of the cost of the four public assistance categories—old age assistance, aid to dependent children, assistance to the blind, and home relief—is being pegged and stabilized at 20 per cent. The annual public welfare bill, including public assistance, is approximately \$170,000,000. Seven thousand people are employed in the execution of the program that it pays for. The legislation for this purpose has been passed and the bill approved by Governor Dewey. When the reorganization has been carried out, applications for all types of assistance and care will be made at a single local office. Visitation, and investigation of a single family's needs will be done by a single agency. A simple residence system will be set up, and both settlement and residence requirements for public assistance will be eliminated.

**Brown University.** Vincent H. Whitney has been appointed Assistant Professor and Richard E. DuWors, Instructor, of Sociology. Mr. Whitney will teach courses on Population, the Community, and Methods of Sociological Research. Mr. DuWors will be responsible for a course on Race Relations and for one on the Family.

**University of Chicago.** The Society for Social Research, 25th Annual Institute, was held on August 9 and 10, 1946. The Program Sections and their chairmen were as follows: two Sections on Social Planning, Louis Wirth and Alton A. Linford, Chairmen; two Sections on Race Relations, Allison Davis and A. A. Liveright, Chairmen; Rural Life, Sol Tax, Chairman; Human Relations in Industry, W. L. Warner, Chairman; Community Research, Robert K. Burns, Chairman; Communication, Avery Leiserson, Chairman.

**Creighton University** has introduced a pre-social work program through the department of sociology. The supporting courses to this major include courses in the departments of economics, political science, and psychology. This emphasis upon pre-professional social work within the ordinary liberal arts curriculum has been urged by the Nebraska Statewide Committee on Training and

Education for Social Work, the Nebraska Merit System Council, and the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

**Drew University.** Dr. David M. Fulcomer returned to the department in March after two years overseas for the American Red Cross. He served as a field director and later as area supervisor with the U.S. Army 8th. Air Force based in England. Upon his return he set in motion a community-laboratory technique of teaching certain sociology courses. The practice and study of this technique will continue in the 1946-47 academic year. Briefly put, the aim is to give students in introductory sociology, criminal behavior and the sociology seminar actual participation in a community agency with two chief aims in mind: 1) to give the liberal arts student a knowledge of his community and thus better train him for future citizenship, and 2) to help the student to orient what he studies in class with contemporary life and problems. Selected community agencies co-operate in this project giving the student special educational supervision with his particular sociology course in mind. This project is not an attempt to give the student pre-professional training; it is required of all students many of whom may not have further courses in the field.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at **Duke University** announces the appointment of Dr. Clarence H. Schettler, formerly of Western Reserve University, as Associate Professor of Sociology, and Dr. Weston La Barre, formerly of the New Jersey State College for Women, as Assistant Professor of Anthropology. Dr. Schettler will develop specialized courses in social psychology and the sociology of economic institutions. Dr. La Barre will be in charge of the work in anthropology, and will represent the department in its program of collaboration with the departments of psychiatry and psychology in the field of personality and culture.

**George Washington University** announces appointment of Dr. Harold Loran Geisert, as executive officer to reestablish the school's department of sociology which has been inactive since June 1943. Classes were discontinued following the death of Dr. Carl Douglas Wells. Dr. Geisert will devote the first year to re-establishment of standard courses including organization of society and rural sociology. Dr. Geisert holds a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina and has done post doctoral studies in statistics and social research at the University of Chicago. He was formerly associate professor of sociology at the University of Alabama.

**Hofstra College**, Hempstead, Long Island. Joseph S. Roucek was again Visiting Professor in San Francisco State College this summer; he also lectured extensively to numerous service clubs throughout California. He has edited *The Twentieth*

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Donald Bouma, formerly a teaching fellow, has been appointed to the staff of Calvin College, Grand Rapids.

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*Century Political Thought*, just published by Philosophical Library. Prentice-Hall has published his *Central-Eastern Europe: The Core of World Wars*. Roucek is editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia Slavonica*, to be published next spring by the Philosophical Library, and *Social Control*, edited by him, is now being published by D. Van Nostrand Company.

**University of Michigan.** Ronald Freedman, who is completing his work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago, has accepted an instructorship. His main responsibility will be for Introductory Quantitative Sociology, Intermediate Social Statistics, and Techniques of Quantitative Research.

Joseph Fauman, who was a Lieutenant in the Meteorological Services of the Army, has accepted a teaching fellowship.

Donald Bouma, formerly a teaching fellow, has been appointed to the staff of Calvin College, Grand Rapids.

**University of Minnesota.** Dr. Loren C. Eiseley, Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at Oberlin College has been appointed Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Columbia during the Summer Session (1946). He will offer a course on the Biology of Race, and participate in the seminars upon physical anthropology sponsored by the Viking Fund.

**University of Nebraska.** The University of Nebraska Press will publish *Social Institutions* by J. O. Hertzler, professor of sociology, in the late autumn. This is not a reprinting or revision of the 1929 volume of that title but essentially a new and greatly expanded analytical treatment.

The Laboratory of Anthropology, Dr. John L. Champe, director, a subdivision of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, in collaboration with the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, beginning in September will conduct a cross-cultural survey of several tribes of Plains Indians as part of the greater project of the Institute. Mr. John Roberts, research associate, will be in charge.

Dr. James M. Reinhardt, professor of sociology, gave a series of lectures before the thirty-second annual academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, D.C., on May 28, 1946. Dr. Samuel M. Strong, associate professor of sociology, has resigned to accept a position at Carleton College. Dr. John P. Johansen, formerly professor of economics and sociology and chairman of the department at North Dakota Agricultural College and recently social science analyst for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology for the academic year.

**University of Pennsylvania.** Professor Thorsten Sellin has been granted a leave of absence for the school year 1946-1947. He has accepted an invita-

tion extended to him by the Swedish Government to work with the Commission revising the penal code and lecture on criminology at the University of Stockholm and other universities.

Professor Frank H. Hankins, formerly of Smith College, will be Visiting Professor during the fall and spring terms. He will offer graduate courses on population quality and on the Negro in the United States.

Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons has been appointed Lecturer for the coming school year and will give a course on penal administration and its problems.

Mr. Frederick W. Killian, formerly Director of the Family Court Wilmington, Delaware, has been appointed Lecturer for the coming school year.

Mr. Arnold W. Green, formerly of the Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire, Mr. Francis J. McGurk and Mr. Donald P. Kent have been appointed Instructors.

Professor William Rex Crawford has assumed the Chairmanship of the Department of Sociology. He will also carry on the functions of Director of Inter-American Activities.

**Roosevelt College, Chicago.** Arthur Hillman has been appointed chairman of the Department. Formerly with Central YMCA College, he was in government service during the war years, his final position being Assistant Regional Director, Office of Community War Services, Chicago. From July, 1945 to April 1946 he was the first director of the Social Work-Labor Planning project of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago. He is president of the Co-operative Federation of Chicago Area, Inc.

Harry B. Sell, formerly of Central YMCA College, is Associate Professor of Sociology. His interests are in sociological theory with special emphasis upon the study of social reform movements, propaganda, and social control.

Rose Hum Lee holds the rank of Assistant Professor. She is finishing her doctoral work at the University of Chicago. American-born, she spent ten years in China and has written and lectured extensively on Chinese problems in the United States and in China.

St. Clair Drake has been appointed to the faculty starting in the fall of 1946. He will specialize in social anthropology. Co-author of *Black Metropolis*, he has been awarded a Rosenwald Fellowship, and plans to go to England in the summer of 1947 for a study of race relations in Cardiff and Liverpool.

Josephine J. Williams, of the University of Chicago, taught sections of the introductory course in the spring semester, 1946, and will give a course on the Social Aspects of Health in the fall semester. This relates to her special field of research.

**Syracuse University.** The former Department of Sociology, Dr. T. R. Fisher, Chairman, has been renamed the Department of Sociology and Anthro-

pology. Henceforward courses in anthropology will be listed separately from those in sociology and will be recognized as anthropology. Dr. David B. Stout has been appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology and will continue to pursue his special interest in the native peoples of Latin America. Douglas Haring has been promoted to Professor of Anthropology; his specialized field is Japan, with broader interests in Eastern Asia and Oceania. A new organization of courses is under way in anticipation of further development.

While the Department of Sociology and Anthropology will accept graduate students whose interests center in anthropology, no graduate degrees in Anthropology as such are in contemplation for the next year or two.

**University of Toronto.** Charles E. Hendry, Director of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress for the past two years, has accepted an appointment as Professor of Social Work. However, he will continue as acting director of the Commission until January, 1947, becoming special consultant and member of the Commission's Advisory Council on Research at that time.

**Transylvania College.** A full major in sociology is being restored and developed under the direction of Miss Frances Jennings, dean of women and assistant professor of sociology. This major will suit the student wishing either a liberal arts major in

sociology or a pre-professional course for graduate social work. The sociology curriculum also will meet the needs of those planning to enter social work directly upon receiving the A.B. degree.

**Virginia Polytechnic Institute.** Dr. Leland B. Tate, who has been on leave of absence in charge of rural health services for the Farm Foundation, Chicago, has resumed his work here in the college and the agricultural experiment station.

**University of Wisconsin.** The Department of Rural Sociology is in process of reconstruction following the war period. Dr. George W. Hill has returned from an extended wartime leave during which he served as Director of Program Planning, Office of Labor, War Food Administration, and later as advisor to the Venezuelan government on problems of immigration and land settlement.

Dr. William H. Sewell has joined the staff on a research and teaching assignment. Sewell was formerly Professor of Sociology and Rural Life at Oklahoma A. & M. College and during the war served as a Lieutenant in the USNR.

Dr. John Useem, who was formerly Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota and more recently Associate Professor of Sociology at Barnard College of Columbia University, is expected to join the staff in September as Research Project Associate under a grant from the Rockefeller Fund. He will devote a major portion of his time to the study of Wisconsin culture.

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## BOOK REVIEWS



*Problems of Men.* JOHN DEWEY. Philosophical Library. New York. 1946, pp. 418. \$5.00.

The present volume adds itself to the already impressive number of books which Mr. Dewey has published. No other philosopher, to my knowledge, has to his credit such an array of publications. What was, perhaps, needed was an interpretative *Summa*; and something of that character was contributed by the volume in the Schilpp series.

It must be recognized, first of all, that the present publication is not a new book in the strict sense but a gathering together of essays written, approximately, from 1935 to 1945. There is, also, a general Introduction dealing with the present situation in philosophy. One of the longer essays can be quickly spotted as belonging to the period of the Chicago School. Since that date, Dewey has moved to a somewhat less dialectical way of handling analyses. Hence the essay is interesting as indicating directions and changes. It is clear that, from the first, Dewey sought to orientate philosophy toward science. Just how that was to be done was not, at first, clear to him. At present, he considers philosophy as the reflective explication of the full import of scientific method together with such *wisdom* that can be gleaned from human experience studied in this fashion. The wisdom comes, I judge, from the breadth of vision resting, as this does, on a steady consideration of conditions and consequences.

It is apparent that Dewey is sensitive to the climate of opinion of the last decade. He feels that science and, with it, a philosophy which works hand in hand with science are under attack. An older tradition which affirms a "superior reality" is strongly reacting against the implications of his own neo-empiricism. And, unfortunately, there are extreme empiricists of the positivistic persuasion who, in a measure, weaken the instrumentalists efforts because of their refusal to do justice to judgments of value by taking the position that values are largely by-products of an expressive and imperative sort. May I say that I am of the opinion that Dewey is nearer the truth here

and that positivists have not sufficiently studied the social psychology of attitudes as against verbalizations. I am myself impressed by the growing achievements in the social sciences along the lines of attitude studies. Had Dewey cleared up his theory of knowledge he would, I suggest, have seen that the valuation of ends and means is a responsible evaluation of them within the context of the human, social situation. But I would differ from him more on technical points than on general perspective. No one can read these essays without an awareness of the sanity and the broadly-based humanitarianism of his outlook. Here is the new liberalism: How much can it affect Marxism? America was fortunate in having a Dewey with his influence on philosophy and education.

Those interested in the current controversy about educational objectives and methods will find the first section of the book of special interest. Liberal education is a liberalizing process and is not so bound up with an inherited content as classicists suppose. The problem is that of giving a larger context and meaning to all sorts of skills and knowledges. This theme is continued in the second section entitled *Human Nature and Scholarship*.

It is in the third section that we have, gathered together, the material on value-theory. Is value an immediate, intrinsic quality? Or is it to be connected with judgment? The essays are all stimulating and controversial.

The terminal section contains reflections of James Marsh and William James. These will be of historical interest because of the light they throw upon Dewey's own development.

ROY WOOD SELLARS

*University of Michigan*

*The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture. 1860-1897.* By FRED A. SHANNON. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. New York: Toronto. 1945. pp. x, 434. No price indicated.

This is Volume 5 in the series which carries the general title, "The Economic History of the United States." It is a history of the expansion of American agriculture to the limits

of the continent (following the Civil War). The author takes care to point out that there are other aspects of the history of agriculture during this period which need to be treated, but which he has not attempted to cover. He is concerned primarily with what he regards as the fundamental development of this period, namely, "the rounding out of the agricultural limits."

The book is, therefore, a story of the progress of settlement of the western lands from 1860 to 1900, and the numerous problems and developments associated with it. Among these latter the following are given special attention: the disposition of the public domain, readjustments in southern agriculture following the Civil War, expansion of agriculture in the prairie states, and the accompanying problems of transportation, marketing, credit, and foreign trade; the "livestock frontier" and problems of the range country; the depressing effect of western expansion on farming in the northeast; the development of government agencies serving agriculture; the agrarian risings; the co-operative movements.

In Chapter XV entitled "The Farmer and the Nation," the author deals briefly with what might be called the social developments other than those directly tied to economics. A few pages are devoted to "the farm home" with reference only to the architecture, construction and furnishings, and a short section to the changes in the rural school and church. However, it must not be assumed from this lack of categorical treatment of the social institutions that there is not other material to interest the sociologist. All of Chapter II on Agricultural Settlement in New Areas is a treatise on population migration, both internal and external. In several of the other chapters, notably Nos. IV and VIII the effects of expanding agencies of communication, especially transportation, are portrayed. Moreover, the chapters dealing with the agrarian movements and the rise of rural co-operative institutions are useful reference material for the sociologist.

The book is a readable survey of the economic development of agriculture during this period. It is remarkably well documented, making it especially valuable to the student who wishes to read further on the subjects treated in the volume. In addition to the page-by-page citations, there is a lengthy final chapter—not an appendix—which discusses "the literature of the subject" by types of materials: *i.e.* guides,

general works, periodical literature, etc., and by chapters in the volume.

There are some interesting and illuminating illustrations.

LOWRY NELSON

*University of Minnesota*

*Plant Geography and Culture History in the American Southwest.* By GEORGE F. CARTER. New York: Viking Fund, 1945. 140 pp. \$1.50.

The author attempts to demonstrate the following general thesis: Agriculture in the aboriginal Southwest was marginal to the agricultural complexes of both the Eastern U. S. and Mexico, and not an early home plant domestication, as heretofore believed. For archeological and ethnobotanical circles this is an exceedingly radical hypothesis, since it upsets many well-established conclusions regarding the age of agriculture as a cultural complex and as a botanical problem. Carter's approach is that of the term-paper writer (this is, in fact, a published dissertation): he selects secondary data and re-arranges it to suit his hypothesis, which he clearly regards as conclusively demonstrated. It would seem that significant results in an investigation of this kind can only be derived after background empirical research in the field and in botanical laboratories.

Carter's thesis depends upon the existence of a very early Eastern agriculture. He unequivocally states, "A widespread, rather well-developed agriculture in the Southeast prior to the appearance of the typical Middle American plants such as corn . . . is thus well established" (p. 28). A check on all the original sources the author uses to "establish" this—and all of them are archeological monographs—provides no confirmation of his claim. All plant remains in eastern archeological sites cannot be dated as any earlier than the ceramic material with them; and the pottery is all of late, corn-beans-squash agriculture time. Carter's *pièce de résistance* concerns an ethnobotanist's mistaken claim for antiquity of some Kentucky cave material; a claim based upon the fact that the ethnobotanist identified some late material from which the already identifiable corn, beans and squash had been removed. If Carter had read the rest of the monograph, and not merely the ethnobotanist's appendix, he would have found detailed descriptions of the rest of the material.

The author also pins much of his argument upon the guess of a single botanist that it

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would take "at least" 1,000 years to domesticate corn. Other fully as competent botanical evidence (ignored), agrees that 400 years would be sufficient. His subsequent reasoning might be quoted, "If it took a thousand years to develop corn capable of entering the Southwest by 300 A.D., a date of the beginning of expansion of corn westward from the Southeast must have been 700 B.C." (p. 130). This patchwork of selected and questionable data, guesses, and inferential conclusions make up the whole of his theory, which he regards (p. 124, e.g.), as an established certainty. The reviewer does not object to reviews of published evidence, nor to the formulation of stimulating new hypotheses, but the reification of guesses into established facts cannot be too strongly deplored.

JOHN W. BENNETT

*Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio*

*North Dakota Weather and The Rural Economy.* Bulletin No. 11 of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Dakota. By J. M. GILLETTE, Research Professor: Reprinted from *North Dakota History*, Vol. 12, No. 1-2, January-April, 1945.

This is one of the most thorough and pains-taking monographs on this subject, not only for the area in question, but for any other area as well. It reveals its author's indefatigable enthusiasm, industry, and skill in assembling and analyzing scientific data. The result is a fascinating study of the relation of physical environment to social life.

The contents can most briefly be indicated by the chapter headings:

- I. Man and Nature
- II. Wheat Yields
- III. Precipitation and Yield
- IV. Nature's Way of Disposing of Precipitation
- V. North Dakota Temperature
- VI. Problems of Control and Adjustment in Great Plains
- VII. Summary and Conclusions

Twenty-seven charts and eight tables complete this excellent study.

The book consists primarily of facts not subject to dispute which have been selected judiciously from a wide variety of sources. Nor is there much opportunity for criticism of the arrangement and analysis of these facts in the case of an author of Dr. Gillette's competence.

One might disagree with a few minor theoretical points but they in no way effect the general conclusions. Thus, I think Dr. Gillette's restrictions on a legitimate and scientific definition of a region are much too rigorous (p. 7). I think entirely justifiable and useful scientific definitions of regions may be made in terms of specified indices. Once these indices are decided upon, any area which falls within specified ranges of these indices may be fruitfully designated as regions in the respects described by the indices. This is perhaps an academic point because for practical purposes Dr. Gillette has followed rather the procedure I have indicated.

The monograph will stand as a further credit to the scientific stature of its author and as a contribution to the state and the area which he has served with such singular devotion and distinction for over forty years.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

*University of Washington*

*The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey.* By JOHN F. EMBREE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. 308 pp. \$3.00.

In this thin little book, Dr. Embree, a social anthropologist, presents a succinct and comprehensive view of the Japanese nation as of the Pearl Harbor date. Nowhere has the reviewer seen such a lucid, compact treatment of all sociological phases of Japanese life as appears in this book. Dr. Embree, it will be remembered, a few years ago made a microscopic, cultural anthropological study of a Japanese village (somewhat the equivalent of an American township with a small town trade center) which was published under the title, *Suye Mura*. This previous intensive study of a small area undoubtedly gave the author of *The Japanese Nation* special insight into those phases of Japanese life—folkways, mores, social attitudes, and social institutions—which enabled him to survey the total life of the Japanese people with rare understanding. Subjects treated in this book are: historical background, modern economic base, governmental structure, social class system, education, mass communication (press, radio, etc.), family and household, religion, culture patterns, and national attitudes. The reviewer would like to have seen more attention given to correlative interpretations between technical and economic development and population growth on the one hand and educational, religious, moral, political, and militaristic trends on the other. Also, it

seems to the reviewer, that much of the paradoxical behavior of Japanese leaders and their mass followers in the last few decades can best be explained in terms of the theory of "cultural lag."

This book should especially be welcomed among American sociologists just at the present time when they need to begin to think about sociology from an international point of view. The reviewer would like to suggest that American sociologists and social anthropologists give us a whole series of books like Dr. Embree has given us in *The Japanese Nation*, describing and analyzing the social life of all the leading modern nations. Why not similar studies of China, India, Australia, Russia, Italy, France, Germany, England, and each of the smaller nations?

FRED R. YODER

*State College of Washington*

*America's Germany.* By JULIAN BACH, JR. New York: Random House, 1946. 310 pp. \$3.00.

This is a timely and illuminating book by a thoughtful, intelligent correspondent. He enjoyed unusual opportunities to observe the situation in all zones. The fate of twenty million Germans in the American zone is determined in the last analysis by confused and apathetic public opinion in the United States. The picture is presented in a lively, readable, journalistic style; yet the analysis is not superficial. The economic interdependence of the various parts of the former German Reich is vividly shown by various striking examples. He realizes that it is a case of export or starve for the American zone and that export is impossible on the large scale without substantial industries. It is made clear that a daily average diet of 1,600 calories is not a good background for democratic education of Germans. He feels that the German people are guilty, but knows that given deeply rooted nationalism, even of anti-Nazis, they will not accept that guilt through repetitious preaching of outsiders. Cogent remarks are made concerning the lag in popular thinking which ignores the unprecedented collapse of German society and worries unrealistically about a revival of German militarism.

His conclusion is that as good a job has been done and was possible under the circumstances. Yet the reader can still ask, "Was it good enough, and in time?" Inherent contradictions exist in official policy, starvation is imminent, and the basic decision as to whether Americans

are ultimately to be friends or foes of Germans has not yet been made.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

*University of Minnesota*

*Relief and Social Security.* By LEWIS MERIAM. Brookings Institution, 1946. pp. 900. \$5.00.

Government responsibility for relief and social security is now firmly established in the United States, as in most other nations. The idea is obviously not new. American public authority has borne the major cost of providing for needy individuals long before the New Deal's unemployment relief measures. What is new, however, is that the issues of public relief and social security have now become of major economic and political significance. The appropriations are huge; their size, the tax sources upon which they are based, the financial reserves which are established—these problems are central to the nation's fiscal policies. Large numbers of the population are involved—over thirty million workers are covered by our unemployment insurance laws; over seventy million persons have at one time paid "contributions" under our old age and survivor insurance laws. The political influence of relief and social security problems is therefore of very considerable importance. In addition relief and social insurance are "permanent" institutions in the sense that they are not exclusively nor even primarily depression problems when jobs are scarce, but exist only to a lesser degree in times of prosperity. Because of the magnitude of the operations, and the relationship between the several levels of government, these issues are also of major significance from the viewpoint of public administration.

It should also be indicated that the bulk of our legislation providing for relief and social security developed rapidly after the New Deal era was under way. The retarding forces which held this movement back were swept aside by the pressure of events. The program, however, was not a carefully formulated and consistent whole. It was rather a piecemeal development. As a result the social security structure in the United States lacks unity and co-ordination. Serious problems of coverage and comprehensiveness are recognized by its critics and defenders and even its most enthusiastic supporters cannot overlook the anomalies and complexities.

For these reasons a comprehensive volume on this subject is to be welcomed. The most

important and enduring American books on this subject have been written when social security was an idea, a bold program, and not a legislative fact. Thus I. M. Rubinow's *Social Insurance*, published in 1916, one of the earliest American volumes on social security, is primarily an argument, the statement of the case for such a program. *The Quest for Security*, by the same author, published in 1934, after considerable progress had already been made, especially in workmen's compensation legislation and a beginning had also been made in old age pensions, still preceded the passage of the Social Security Act. This is also true of the very competent volumes by Barbara Armstrong, *Insuring the Essentials* (1932), and by A. Epstein, *Insecurity—a Challenge to America* (1933). The major issues were reviewed but the experience, with minor exceptions, was drawn from foreign nations. Even Paul H. Douglas' *Social Security in the United States*, published in 1933 and revised in 1936, and Maxwell Stewart's *Social Security* (1937), as well as Mr. Epstein's revision in 1938 were concerned primarily with the passage of the Social Security Act and the conclusions could draw on American experience only to a very limited degree. Only the Report of the National Resources Planning Board's Committee on Long Range Work and Relief Policies, entitled *Security Work and Relief Policies*, published in 1942, was in a position to survey not only the depression-born relief and work progress but the social insurance developments as well.

The volume under review is, therefore, the first description and analysis of the existing program in the United States. It is concerned not only with the emergency depression measures long associated with our alphabetical abbreviations—FERA, CWA, WPA, PWA, CCC, and NYA, but also with the programs which were either created or very much enlarged by the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. These include the assistance for the aged, dependent children, and the blind, and also the legislation for providing benefits as a matter of right for the unemployed through the fifty-one State Unemployment Compensation laws and for the aged through the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program. It describes also the all-embracing plans of Great Britain growing out of Sir William Beveridge's *Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services*, and the New Zealand legislation, which has many striking features not found either in the American

laws or in the British proposals.

One does not have to agree with all of Mr. Meriam's conclusions contained in Part 3 of the volume to recognize that the discussion presents a major contribution to the literature on the subject. Here the author is concerned with the major issues of today, with the role of the "means test," the problem of coverage, the size of the benefits to be paid, the estimates of future costs, the methods of financing and the administrative problems involved in co-ordinating relief and social security, and in the distribution of administrative responsibility among the several levels of government.

The author's objective is a single universal, comprehensive, and co-ordinated system "designed to give protection against want within the framework of the American system." To do so the author would follow the New Zealand scheme. He would abolish the payroll tax and impose a universal income tax to be earmarked for social security and relief purposes. This is a radical departure from the established pattern for financing our social security program. While the author presents a strong case for this proposal, he dismisses too readily the case that can be made for the payroll tax especially when this method may form the basis of paying benefits as a matter of right, with the benefit scale in part related to earnings.

His scheme might be more palatable if he would not couple it with a general introduction of a "means test" as the underlying basis of all social security programs. This is a retrogressive step, to say the least and one hardly designed to simplify administration and reduce bookkeeping and red tape, one of the objectives of Mr. Meriam's program.

Like most Brookings volumes there is in this one also a great fear of centralized government and bureaucracy and therefore a strong reliance on the grants in aid with Federal "low minimum standards."

Overlooking structural shortcomings growing out of the artificial division between the substantive programs and the issues covered in Part 3, the volume suffers from at least two serious shortcomings. First there is hardly any discussion of workmen's compensation, the first social security program in the United States. The subject is not even listed in the index. It is a significant and vital part of our social security structure, and very much neglected in the recent literature of the subject. A similar error is the wholly inadequate discussion of health insur-

ance and medical care—the outstanding gap in our social security system.

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*No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet.* By FAWN M. BRODIE. New York: A. A. Knopf, Inc., 1945. Pp. ix + 476 + xix. \$4.00.

Owen Wister once remarked that the two most unique institutions in nineteenth century America were Christian Science and Mormonism. Certainly the interest in the latter remains strong if the continued publication of historical and fictional books on this topic is any indication. Mrs. Fawn McKay Brodie, reared in one of the leading Mormon families, has produced to date the most exhaustive biography of Joseph Smith.

The origin of Mormonism has long intrigued the curious. As the title of the present volume aptly says no man knows this history, and to this day, despite Mrs. Brodie's efforts, there remain many unsolved riddles with respect to the beginnings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Was Joseph Smith a mild psychopath, an epileptic genius, or a downright charlatan? Various earlier biographers have assumed each of these in turn. Did he write the *Book of Mormon*, under mystifying circumstances of his reputation as a peepstone expert, merely to sell and make money, and only later decide to found a church when he found that people took his yarn seriously? Mrs. Brodie gives some hint that this may have been so. (See pp. 55, 81, 83, and 89.) And once launched upon his career as "Seer, a Translator, a Prophet, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and Elder of the Church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ" (p. 84) where could he stop? As the author points out he soon began to take himself seriously (pp. 123, 127) and by the end of his life "the role of prophet had finally swallowed up the man" (p. 295).

Students of society and culture, however, are interested in the general not the unique features of this movement. Such matters as the doctrinal sources of Mormon theory and of practice, of institutional growth, and of the role and status of the leaders are important only for comparative purposes or for their contribution to an analysis of general processes evident in the development of religious groups and their culture. Unfortunately regarding these matters,

the book is not entirely adequate. The author's main concern is the personal history of the founder, and while some mention is made of institutional growth, it tends to be incidental to other emphases. So, too, no great attention is paid to the syncretic process by which Smith developed his theology out of the religious ferment of his time.

While the author is not a technically trained social psychologist, she has done a creditable job in depicting Smith's personal traits. From the outset of his career he was an exhibitionist and an effective speaker, who not only could sway an audience but also talk himself out of serious difficulties on occasion. He was susceptible to flattery and often not too good a judge of others, as evidenced in his unfortunate experiences with John C. Bennett who after being one of his closest associates turned violently against him, in his brush with the Reverend Henry Caswell who presented him with certain Greek texts which Smith blandly translated, though he knew no Greek, and in his relations with the wily persons who hoaxed him with the faked Kinderhook plates which Smith pronounced to be a record of a descendent of "Ham, through the loins of Pharaoh, king of Egypt." It is evident, too, that he had deep affection and definite emotional dependence on his wife, Emma; yet, he was highly flattered by, and sexually attracted to, many of his zealous women followers. This latter fact was perhaps one basis for his enunciation of the system of celestial (plural) marriage. Because he recalled his boyhood hardships, he was always haunted by a fear of poverty and his business ventures were chiefly motivated by his desire to provide well for his family. He always identified himself closely with his family, in fact, as is shown by his frequent appeasement of Emma and by his willingness to tolerate his recurrently recalcitrant brother, William. Probably linked with this strong identification with his family and with his weakness in judging individuals was his failure—increasingly evident toward the close of his career—to realize the effect of many of his church policies on his non-Mormon neighbors. Much of the conflict in Missouri and in Illinois stem from Smith's lack of insight regarding public reactions to Mormon theory and practice.

In presenting a life story of such a person as Joseph Smith around whose name almost endless myth and legend have collected, the matter of sources is crucial. In addition to the

official church histories, the author has drawn upon local records from Vermont, central New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Also she has made good use of journals and other personal documents of Mormons collected by the Utah Historical Records Survey of the Federal Writers' Project. Perhaps the most questionable sources—and certainly so from the standpoint of the official church—are negative affidavits and emotionalized accounts by persons clearly opposed to Mormonism. Affidavits must always be carefully examined and weighed before using, and statements made by individuals who have left such a movement, or those by sensational-hunting writers, are always suspect, unless supported by further evidence. It is not that most, if not all, the facts which the author uses from such sources may not be true; but the author might have been somewhat less uncritical toward them. It is strange that on page 68 she is most critical of affidavits gathered by one Philastus Hurlbut regarding the so-called "Spaulding theory" of the origin of the *Book of Mormon*, but does not apply like standards elsewhere when she draws on affidavits from E. P. Howe and other vigorous critics of Mormonism. For example, such materials collected in central New York by an apostate from the faith *after* Mormonism had become exciting news generally should be examined in the light of what rumor, myth, and legend do to human memories. So, too, Wilhelm Wyl's *Mormon Portraits*, though suggestive, hardly represent a cool historical picture. (Though extensively used, there is no reference to Wyl in the Index.) In similar vein the author is uncritical of certain pro-Mormon materials as well. For instance, Joseph Smith's and Lucy Smith's accounts of events—written years after the actual dates—should be subjected to closer scrutiny by those who accept them.

Yet, despite these criticisms the work is, for the most part, adequate. There are, however, a few minor comments that should be added: On page 67 the author writes, "No sociologist has troubled to draw parallels between the *Book of Mormon* and other sacred books, like the *Koran*. . ." While Eduard Meyer was not a sociologist but a distinguished historian, his *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* contains two excellent sections, one comparing Joseph Smith and Mohammed, the other indicat-

ing some interesting parallels in the development of Mormonism and the history of the early Christian church.

On page 87 it is stated that the church was organized on "April 6, 1830 with six members. Within a month the number had jumped to forty." David Whitmer's history, however, states that by the date of the legal founding of the church, there were actually well over 70 followers. (The mention of six founder-members apparently reflects but the formal requirements for incorporation.)

The "endowment" ceremony in the Mormon temples is referred to as "essentially fertility worship" (page 279). It would be more accurate, perhaps, to say that these rituals resemble a medieval miracle-morality type of drama. The assumption, on page 346, that Smith knew and practiced contraception in his plural marriages—as a means to account for the fact that he left no issue from these marriages—is quite gratuitous. So, too, the implication on page 174 that the Mormons take seriously the racist dogma in their *Book of Abraham* is not borne out by the facts. Like other minority groups the Mormons have generally been tolerant of other minorities, including the Negroes. Theologically their views on the Negro reflect the fundamentalist Christian story of the origin of the colored races found in the Old Testament, but in practice they follow pretty much the same tolerant views as most other Americans in their section of the country.

Finally, despite certain criticisms regarding some sources and some interpretations, the book is well written and will long remain a basic contribution to the history of Mormonism. It reveals a sympathetic understanding of the troubles which Smith had in taking the role of God's vicegerent. He is shown as a person of warm sentiment, a certain Yankee shrewdness, and personal courage in the face of difficulties. His doctrines which were a curious mixture of authoritarianism and personal liberty had wide appeal to individuals in this country and in Protestant Europe who wanted somehow to combine democratic freedom with an anchorage of finality and absolutism. This the Mormon church provided to thousands of its converts.

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